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EDITORIAL

We are privileged to add to the series of articles from outside the British Isles a contribution on recent developments in a Commonwealth country from one of the leading Canadian penologists, Professor Topping of the University of British Columbia. Both as a member of the various Government Commissions referred to in his article and as a penal administrator he has taken an active part in the reforms which he briefly describes. As a University teacher, it has been mainly due to his personal influence that a comprehensive teaching programme, leading to a Graduate Diploma in Criminology, has recently been established at his University. From Professor Topping's description it appears that the new penology in British Columbia presents a happy blend of some of the most significant features of the Canadian, British, and Californian systems. Particularly interesting is the emphasis on adequate professional training for institutional staffs whose needs are so often neglected in comparison with training schemes for probation officers. In view of the extreme practical importance of the problem of drug addiction in countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean the research scheme outlined by Dr. Richmond, who is known in this country as a former Borstal Medical Officer, also deserves particular attention.

Of all the innovations introduced by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, none has been more controversial than Detention Centres, and the four years' delay between the passing of the Act and the opening of the first Centre at Kidlington, near Oxford, may well have been due to difficulties of more than purely technical nature. Public discussion of this new form of treatment, which in the first instance had to be somewhat theoretical and unrealistic, has now become more concrete and down-to-earth. The two

recent Reports of the Prison Commissioners for the years 1952 and 1953 have provided some interesting information, and the valuable observations and recommendations of a Sub-Committee of the Magistrates' Association have now been published in the Annual Report of the Association for 1953-54. In view of existing uncertainties as to the objects, potentialities and possible effects of this new type of institution (a second Detention Centre for adolescents between 17 and 21 years of age has recently been opened at Goudhurst in Kent) it was a step in the right direction on the part of the Prison Commissioners to initiate Dr. Grünhut's survey, published in our present issue. The recommendation of the Magistrates' Association that ' the study of the detailed records of boys should be continued in order to assess the value of the experiment ' also deserves full support. In the case of new experiments in treatment penal administrators are faced with a real dilemma. While preparations for the scientific study of such new ventures should begin at the earliest possible moment, some considerable time is likely to elapse before case material can be collected in adequate numbers. As Dr. Grünhut realizes, a sample of a hundred boys is too small for satisfactory statistical analysis; nor has a properly matched control group been available to make the contrast between Approved School and probation cases really meaningful. While no doubt many weighty common sense arguments can be adduced in support of the view that boys with Approved School experience should, as a rule, not be sent to Detention Centres, the mere fact that among them the rate of recidivism has been much higher than the rate for ex-probationers may, as Dr. Grünhut also indicates, well be due to obvious ' differences in selection ', rather than to the methods of treatment applied in the Centre. An attempt to use a matched control group seems to have been made in the Highfields Project in New Jersey in order to compare the effect of long-term and that of short-term institutional treatment. Without the full co-operation of the Juvenile Courts no such planned differential treatment of matched groups is possible; moreover, technical difficulties arise in studies of this kind from the different dates of discharge. While the second complication cannot be entirely avoided, the co-operation of magistrates might well be forthcoming, not only because of their special interest in the work of the Detention Centres but also because, in view of the small number of places available in these Centres, the usual objections to differential treatment of equal cases are not so cogent. While space does not permit us to enter into further details, it may at least be said that the recommendations of the Magistrates' Association, *viz.*, that medical reports of fitness should be required before committal to a Centre and that a period of compulsory aftercare for ex-Detention Centre boys should be arranged, would seem to be well-founded, the more so because a large number of boys,

more than one-third of all discharges, 'refused voluntary supervision' in 1953 (Prison Commission Report for 1953, p. 91). The Prison Commissioners, while admitting that the small number of boys requesting voluntary supervision is disappointing, explain that without statutory provision no improvement is possible. There seems to be a good case for speedy legislation on this subject.

Professor Whitehead once said that religion is what a man does with his solitude. We equally can read something significant of a man's character by scrutinizing his leisure pursuits. The sometimes obsessional quality of the leisure pursuit can be regarded as a revelation of hidden personality trends revealed in a projection test. If the features of personality in action emerge in the early days of puberty it seems almost *a priori* that the way in which leisure is filled should be revealing, as Grygier has attempted to show in his planned pilot study of leisure amongst juvenile delinquents seen in the I.S.T.D. service.

This methodological fore-study shows how difficult it is to define leisure and to determine on what evidence the assessment should be based. Apart from local facilities for leisure, it is important to discover what are the incentives to leisure. Are they obsessive preoccupations, do they spring from innate endowment craving for expression; where the latter is the case, is there a relationship to be discovered between the type of delinquency and this obviously characterlogical trend? Apart from the study of methodology, which the author so scrupulously defines as preliminary, many fascinating avenues open up, not only for the study of delinquency, but for its treatment along both creative and social lines.

The Hon. Sanford Bates has recently retired under the age limit from his post as Commissioner of the Department of Institutions and Agencies for the State of New Jersey. In this post as in his former work as Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, as Commissioner of the New York State Board of Parole, and as Commissioner of the State of Massachusetts Department of Corrections; as author of 'Prisons and Beyond'; as President of the XIIth International Penal and Penitentiary Congress at The Hague in 1950, and in many other ways, he has proved himself one of the most outstanding personalities in the field of American and international penology of the present century. It was Sanford Bates who, as Commissioner for Massachusetts thirty years ago, took the at the time revolutionary step of inviting the Gluecks to undertake their first famous follow-up and prediction study. The best wishes of all those interested in the progressive and scientific treatment of lawbreakers follow him into his retirement which will, it is hoped, mean many more years of fruitful activity in his chosen field.

THE RISE OF THE NEW PENOLOGY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA

By C. WESLEY TOPPING (BRITISH COLUMBIA)

The new penology in British Columbia represents a social movement—perhaps, even, a social trend—supporting the rehabilitation of the law-breaker as against earlier policies of punishment. It has a history that goes back more than twenty years and it is based, in the last analysis, on a public opinion that has demanded constructive action on an all too commonly mismanaged universal social problem. It is rooted in philosophies, principles and ideas that originated in Palestine, in Europe, and on the Atlantic seaboard of North America ; but it is, at the same time, a surprisingly indigenous development.

The Treatment of the Juvenile Offender. As in other areas, the new trends could be observed first in changed treatment for wayward juveniles. The juvenile court, with its probation services, its informal hearings, and its scientific approach had been firmly established in British Columbia prior to 1934. In that year the principles and procedures characteristic of this court were formally introduced into the industrial schools of the Province as a result of the presentation to the Government of the Report of a Commission of Inquiry.[1] The Commissioners had been appointed because of continuing disturbances at the Provincial Industrial School for Boys and, in their investigation of complaints arising out of these disturbances, the Commissioners sat as a judicial body. But they sat as a research body when they considered the Reports of the five Advisory Committees which they had appointed to assist them in their work—on Management, on Agriculture, on Physical Health, on Education and Vocational Training, on Character Development and Rehabilitation ; and they continued to sit as a research body when they analysed and summarized the answers to an elaborate questionnaire which they had submitted to a representative group of authorities on the institutional treatment of juveniles in Canada and in the United States.

The question at issue became manifest early in the inquiry. It was not the issue of punishment versus treatment. It was, rather, the issue of the attitude to be taken towards a delinquent and his problems ; and the detailed procedures considered essential for his effective rehabilitation. The authorities at the School held out for ' the clean slate ' system ; the authorities in

[1] *Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Provincial Industrial School for Boys, 1934.* (Confidential.)

other parts of the continent advocated control by a thorough investigation and by understanding. Dr. William Healy of the Judge Baker Foundation, Boston, wrote : ' It is not possible to know too much about a delinquent boy if you hope to help him mend his ways.' Thus the principles of the Boston Juvenile Court and the ideas which had long been advocated by Sir Cyril Burt, in London, became embodied in the Report of the Commission of Inquiry of 1934. This is clear when one checks specific recommendations :

> *Recommendations.* ' 7. That on admission to the school a complete record of the history of the boy be furnished the Superintendent, such record to consist of the Juvenile Court record, the school record and family history of the boy. A medical and psychological examination should be given at the School to all boys, and the service of a psychiatrist should be made available for difficult cases.
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> ' 8. That an official of the School be appointed to carry out " follow-up " work in connection with boys released or discharged, and to co-operate with the various probation officers throughout the Province in this work.
>
> ' 10. That political interference in appointments to the staff be entirely eliminated.
>
> ' 11. That all new appointments as attendants be chosen from a list of persons specially qualified on account of previous service, experience, or training in boys' work, institutional work, or in handling delinquent boys, in addition to the other qualifications required for the position.
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> ' 12. That segregation by cottages should be made on the basis of age, psychological tests, and observation of the behaviour of the boy.
>
> ' 13. That boys under ten years of age be not kept at the Institution but be placed in suitable private homes under the supervision of the officer of the School doing " follow-up " work.
>
> ' 24. That parents be not only permitted but encouraged to visit their children and that visits be permitted on at least one Sunday each month in addition to the regular visiting days.'

The Advisory Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, appointed in 1936, made fifteen recommendations, some of which made more explicit certain recommendations of the Commission of 1934, and some of which were original and independent of the earlier Report. But the two reports fitted together in principle and both represented the new penology as it was being worked out in British Columbia.

The following recommendations illustrate the trend: [2]

> ' 3. Arrangements should be made through the juvenile courts and the industrial schools for funds to meet the costs of maintaining children in foster homes.

[2] *Report of the Advisory Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, 1936.* King's Printer, 1937.

'6. The Provincial Government should assume complete responsibility for the administration and the financial support of juvenile courts, thus providing a service which it is difficult for the small municipal units to conduct effectively.

'9. The Boys' Industrial School should be removed from the present quarters at Coquitlam, which are unsatisfactory, to more suitable quarters providing for :

(*a*) Some measure of segregation for different types ;

(*b*) The more effective detention of difficult boys ; and

(*c*) Adequate facilities in the way of shop and academic equipment, gymnasium, playground, etc.

'10. There should be established an institution of the Borstal type for boys and young men from 16 to 21 years of age.

'11. Those boys and girls now in industrial schools who are definitely subnormal or mentally unbalanced should be transferred to the Provincial Mental Hospitals for maintenance and training.

'12. Both juvenile courts and industrial schools should employ the methods of parole and probation as fully as possible, and the extension and strengthening of the existing probation and follow-up services is necessary to achieve this result.

'14. Collateral services should be strengthened and developed that will prevent delinquency or will assist in the rehabilitation of delinquents.

'15. There should be continued study of the delinquency problem.'

That the new penology has not been fully implemented in the treatment programme for juveniles in British Columbia is evidenced by the fact that the Provincial Industrial School for Boys is still, in 1954, at Coquitlam, in a location that is completely surrounded by the buildings of the Provincial Mental Hospital ; and that a Committee, very similar to the Commission of 1934, is at work investigating disturbances at the Provincial Industrial School for Girls. Yet it is unlikely, despite the retardations in the development of a completely constructive programme which can be noted, that the new penology will be repudiated as a system of treatment for wayward children and adolescents in British Columbia in the foreseeable future. For it is widely conceded that all probation and all parole officers should be experienced social workers who have graduated from an accredited School of Social Work. And, while there is not universal agreement in the Province that all officials of Boys' and Girls' Industrial Schools should be members of the professional Canadian Association of Social Workers, it is generally recognized that all persons closely associated with the treatment programme should be professionally trained in the delinquency services and that all staff members should have sympathy with and some understanding of social case work and of personal and group counselling. In addition, a new Provincial Industrial School for Boys has, at long last, been built in a suitable location containing the shops and other facilities suggested in the Report

of the Advisory Committee of 1936. It should be possible, once a transfer has been made to this new Institution, to carry out a programme which is in full harmony with the principles of the new penology. And it is anticipated that the Report of the Committee, currently studying the Girls' Industrial School, will support the new penology, not only in principle, but in detail with constructive recommendations for the more effective treatment of delinquent girls.

The Treatment of the Young Offender. One of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee of 1936 was that an institution along British Borstal lines be set up for the rehabilitative treatment of youths 16 to 21 years of age. An institution was accordingly organized, which was patterned on British Borstal and which could treat constructively adolescents 16 to 18 years of age who were being sent to the Boys' Industrial School, and youths, 19 to 21 years of age who were being incarcerated in the gaols of the Province. A staff of attendants and of educational and vocational officers, including the present Inspector of Prisons, was assembled and the School got under way ; but overhead cost was high and, with a change of Government, the School was closed. However, at a later date, 'New Haven' was reopened, on the same site. The new Superintendent, S. Rocksborough Smith, had been trained in England and was well grounded in Borstal principles and practices. The cost per inmate per annum remained high but the results achieved have been so outstanding that both the public and the Government have come to consider the money well spent. New Haven carries out the standard programme of a Borstal Institution with the direct advice and oversight of the Attorney-General and with the assistance of a Board of Parole, and a group of Borstal Associates distributed throughout the Province and active in the supervision of lads returned to their home communities. New Haven is a British Borstal Unit insofar as it is possible to transfer an English nurtured institution to another part of the Commonwealth.

A second institution for the 16 to 21 year-olds, the Young Offenders' Unit, was established as the result of recommendations made by a Commission appointed in 1950 to inquire into the State and Management of the Gaols of British Columbia. The three Commissioners were familiar with the workings of British Borstal and of New Haven before they made a detailed study of the systems of treatment in Ontario, Saskatchewan, and California. They recommended that the best features of these four systems, as they understood them, be embodied in a new experimental prison which would rank as a vocational institution, rather than a gaol.[3]

[3] *Report of the Commission appointed by the Attorney-General to Inquire into the State and Management of the Gaols of British Columbia, 1950.* King's Printer, 1950.

A staff of attendants was chosen from a group of applicants who were either guards at the Provincial Prison Farm or were graduates of a college or university with a background in criminology or in social work. A staff member of the Personnel Bureau of the University of British Columbia gave each applicant a series of objective tests, and each applicant was interviewed by a Committee of Selection that had before it the results of these tests, in addition to other pertinent information on each candidate. Approximately half of the staff ultimately chosen were former prison guards, with considerable experience in the handling of delinquent youths, while the remainder were young university men with relatively little actual experience with delinquents. The two groups got along surprisingly well in view of their differing backgrounds.

The same practice of combining the old with the new was continued in the selection of the senior officials of the Young Offenders' Unit. But a new principle, more characteristic of California practice than of British Borstal treatment, was introduced at this stage. A Director was appointed but he had no House Master, or other senior officer, to assist him and to serve as his Deputy. Under the Director, instead, were four senior officers—a vocational officer, a discipline officer, an educational officer, and a classification officer—who were instructed to and who were expected to constitute a treatment team. The post of Director, under this system, was apparently a very difficult one and, after two Directors in succession had resigned, the post of Director was allowed to lapse and the institution was placed under the control of the Warden of the Provincial Prison Farm, with the four rehabilitation officers individually responsible directly to him. Thus, the principle of treatment through control and direction by a group of relatively independent co-operating specialists has been firmly established at the Young Offenders' Unit in British Columbia.

The buildings and equipment at this institution do not merit comment, nor is the treatment programme worthy of detailed description and analysis. Its chief distinguishing characteristics are a lack of written instructions and a readiness to cut red tape on the part of the administrative officers in the interest of a dynamic programme of rehabilitative treatment. Thus, two features of the Young Offenders' Unit must be underlined. The first is the fact that the institution is genuinely experimental. Its experimental nature makes it difficult to manage; but it also permits the testing of programmes and policies that can be laid down as standard procedure in the treatment of wayward British Columbia youth. The second concerns trends in the institutional treatment of young offenders. When the original classification officer was promoted to Director, a social case worker, who had graduated from a professional School of Social Work, was appointed to succeed him

and, when the original educational officer resigned, his successor was a social group worker with full professional qualification. It seems clear, from these actions, that in British Columbia, where it is already conceded that probation and parole officers ought to be professionally trained, it is fast coming to be conceded that new senior staff appointed to Borstal institutions ought also to be professionally trained.

The Treatment of the Adult Offender. A clear picture of the application of the new penology to adult offenders in British Columbia can be presented by outlining the objectives and the recommendations of the Gaol Commission of 1950, since all recommendations of the Commissioners have either been implemented or are in process of implementation.

The *Report* falls logically into four divisions :

1. A statement of the principles of penal treatment advocated by the Commissioners and by administrators whom the Commissioners accepted as authorities. Its trend is indicated by the following quotations : 'The most happy combination of theory and practice has grown up in England in the Borstal treatment programme.' 'These principles and this programme should be applicable to Canada, and an excellent start towards this end has been made at the New Haven institution in British Columbia.' 2. A statement on three representative systems of treatment that embody, in their programmes, the principles of the new penology—the California System, the Ontario System, and the Saskatchewan System. 3. A statement on the British Columbia System as it existed in 1950. 4. A listing of twenty-five specific recommendations for the improvement of the British Columbia System.[4]

The recommendations, likewise, fall logically into four divisions : 1. The re-organization of the system of treatment ; 2. The integration of the inmate population with the system of treatment ; 3. The professionalization of staffs ; and 4. New construction to facilitate and make permanent the new programme.

In line with the recommendations of the Commission of 1950 and with the principles of the new penology, the following changes have been initiated in the British Columbia System : (1) An Inspector of Prisons has been appointed with authority to transfer an inmate from one institution to another and from one treatment programme to another. This Administrative Officer is responsible for the success of the total programme and acts both as Inspector of Prisons and as Chief Probation Officer for the Province. (2) A Classification Clinic has been set up at the Provincial Prison Farm with the Deputy Warden in Charge of Treatment as Administrator and with a psychiatrist, a psychologist and a social worker as full-time members

[4] Op. cit. pp. 27-31.

of his staff. A Protestant and a Roman Catholic Chaplain also assist the psychiatrist as do other properly qualified personnel. An exploratory study of the drug addicts confined at Oakalla initiated by Dr. R. G. E. Richmond, Director of the Clinic, has now been taken over by Dr. George S. Stevenson and the Provincial University, under a grant from the Dominion Government. (3) The Librarian who was appointed directly to the staff of the Inspector of Prisons serves, not only the Provincial Prison Farm at Oakalla, but all Provincial reformative institutions, including New Haven, and the industrial schools.

The Advisory Committee on Public Relations, recommended in the Report of the Commission of 1950, has not, as yet, been appointed but the Commissioners were retained by the Attorney-General, after their Report was presented, to act as a policy making and a public relations body. A complete job analysis of the Provincial Prison Farm has been made by the Civil Service Commission and the duties and scale of remuneration for the various staff members have been brought into line with civil service practice. An in-service training programme has been set up and all staff members have now completed short courses in penal administration and in other relevant disciplines. In addition, one of the most elaborate systems of advanced training for penal administrators on the continent has been organized in the Graduate Faculty of the Provincial University, under Mr. Elmer K. Nelson, M.A., LL.B., and with the active collaboration of the Faculty of Law, the School of Social Work, and the Departments of Psychology and Sociology. A major Honours, a Graduate Diploma, and a Master's Degree (M.A.) in Criminology are now available at the University of British Columbia.[5]

Improvements have been made in plant and facilities at all institutions, and the Provincial Industrial School for Boys, projected in accordance with Recommendations in the Report of the Advisory Committee of 1936, has been completed. A search is under way for a site for a new Women's Gaol so that women prisoners may be removed from the now overcrowded building on the grounds of the Provincial Prison Farm, to a group of cottages that will permit classification, segregation, and a broader programme of rehabilitative treatment. The treatment programme for alcoholics and for drug addicts has also been retarded for lack of adequate facilities. Alcoholics are now segregated at the Provincial Prison Farm so that they can receive special treatment under the direction of the medical staff; and the research project on drug addiction referred to before is progressing favourably at the same institution. But the Commission of 1950 recommended and public opinion supports specialized treatment in British

[5] This scheme has been described in detail by Mr. Nelson in the *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, November—December, 1953. (*Ed.*)

Columbia for these potential criminals. Search is, therefore, being made for suitable quarters, away from a prison atmosphere, in which to set up a pilot project grounded in a definitely research approach to the problems of alcoholism and of drug addiction.

But the most significant construction effort—the key institution in the programme to implement the new penology in British Columbia—is, as yet, in the blue-print stage. This Vocational Institution at Haney, it is hoped, will be completed by 1956. The institution is constructed on the telegraph pole principle with four two-storey housing units, a kitchen, a dining-room, the power plant, and the recreation yards along one side of a long corridor; the administrative offices, a small hospital and admission unit, an auditorium-gymnasium-motion picture theatre, and the vocational building along the other side. The housing arrangements will accommodate four hundred inmates in cell blocks, dormitories, and private rooms. New arrivals and trouble-makers will be placed in the cell block. This building has two floors with fifty cells on each floor. Inmates about to be discharged will occupy private rooms in a building that accommodates one hundred—fifty to a floor. The other two housing units are also arranged to accommodate one hundred inmates. These two buildings are classed as dormitories and their movable partitions permit the organization and control of their residents in groups of varying sizes up to a maximum of fifty inmates. Inmates will be selected for transfer to the Haney Vocational Institution at the clinic located in the maximum security prison at Oakalla. Reformability, not age, will be the primary criterion of selection and transferees who do not co-operate with the programme or who are deemed unable to profit from treatment will be returned to the maximum security prison, on orders from the Director of Corrections, to be put to work to earn their keep. The name 'vocational institution' indicates the primary emphasis of the programme, but academic instruction, cultural and recreational activity, and religious and moral indoctrination will not be neglected. The programme will be a total programme which is the direct responsibility of the Deputy Warden in charge of treatment; and it will be his business to see to it that the total programme is co-ordinated and that it meets the inmate where he is. His primary task will be to persuade the shop instructors, the school teachers, the recreation directors, the chaplains, the social workers, the supervisors, and the floor sweepers to pull together and to work together on the fundamental job of rehabilitation of the individual inmate.

What, then, are the more striking features of the new penology as it has been worked out in British Columbia?

1. The new penology in British Columbia is grounded in the proposition that no programme for the rehabilitation of law-breakers can rise above the staff who administer it. A striking feature of the British Columbia system is the attempt to make a profession out of penal administration by the setting up of a battery of courses both at the undergraduate and the graduate level at the Provincial University and, finally, by the appointment to key positions of persons, not only experienced, but, likewise, professionally trained for the posts they occupy.

2. A second proposition regarded as fundamental in the rehabilitation of law-breakers in British Columbia is the 'team' approach. This, in its application, takes two forms. The first is a series of specialized buildings and programmes—for hardened offenders, for reformable offenders, for alcoholics, for drug addicts, for various age groupings, for women. The second guarantees a total programme of treatment by co-ordinating activities. The Director of Corrections not only has responsibility for the total institutional programme, with power to move an inmate from one type of institutional treatment to another, but he is also Chief Probation and Parole Officer for the Province. The Deputy Warden in charge of treatment, in the larger institutions, and an equivalent officer in the smaller institutions, has responsibility for the total programme of the institution with which he is associated.

3. A third proposition concerns the application of science in the cure of crime. The training programme for both staff and inmates has been integrated with the Provincial University and the research programme for drug addicts has been centred in the Medical Faculty of the Provincial University. The Classification Clinic at the Provincial Prison Farm is also grounded in scientific principles, with a psychiatrist in charge and with a psychologist and social workers as full-time staff members.

4. A fourth proposition concerns the programme of rehabilitation. The maximum time an inmate can serve in a Provincial Institution in Canada is two years less one day. Institutional programmes in British Columbia have been organized so that a part of this time can be served in the community under supervision. There exist both a Provincial Parole Board and an Indeterminate Sentence Law for reformable offenders. This means that an inmate, deemed reformable, can be transferred from institutional treatment to treatment in the community at that time in his life history when he is deemed most likely to profit from a return to the community and to his native haunts.

It would, thus, seem that British Columbia has developed into an excellent testing ground for the new penology. The most probable direction in which this will move is already indicated in both Great Britain and British

Columbia. It is the transfer of the reformable offender out of the artificial setting of the institution into the natural setting of the community at the earliest possible moment. The emphasis, in British Columbia, on probation, rather than on parole, hints that the ideal arrangement would be to use the new penology—if by the new penology is meant a system of treatment under institutional restraint—as little as possible, as soon as possible.

APPENDIX

By R. G. E. RICHMOND (Oakalla Prison Farm)

Narcotic Addiction Research in Canada

Because of the increase in the number of drug addicts in Canada, and especially in the Vancouver area of British Columbia, and because of the increase in crime and other social problems related to the addicts, the University of British Columbia was requested by the greater Vancouver Community Chest and Council to establish a research on the factors which appear to be contributing to drug addiction in British Columbia.

Financed by Federal Health Grants, and with the substantial assistance of the Province of British Columbia, a research group has been established in the University's Department of Psychiatry, consisting of a psychiatrist as director, a psychiatric social worker, a psychologist and part-time internist. A University Committee, having on it representatives from a number of faculties and departments, serves in an advisory capacity.

Oakalla Prison Farm is a Provincial Gaol administered by the Attorney General's Department. All addicts convicted of an offence in the Province of British Columbia are either incarcerated in Oakalla or pass through there on their way to the penitentiary.

Up to the present moment, apart from the medical assistance of a non-narcotic nature for the withdrawal from habits, there has been no resource for the treatment of narcotic users as such in this prison. However, individual attention has been offered to those experiencing greater difficulties than others. Both during withdrawal and afterwards, additional measures such as intravenous saline and glucose, vitamin therapy, and very occasionally electro-convulsive therapy have been given.

After much experimentation as regards the most effective method of withdrawal in this prison, we have found that injections of sodium luminal over a period of five days, with slowly increasing periods between injections and slowly diminishing doses, have produced the best results.

At Oakalla during the past two years the addicts have been segregated, as regards sleeping and working, from the inmates who are non-users, and recently an attempt has been made to offer some degree of segregation of

the younger addicts and those less habituated from the remainder. The major step, however, has been the provision of facilities for the intensive study of 100 addicted persons as well as a number of non-addicted persons with similar backgrounds, most of whom have been exposed to narcotic drugs, in the hope of ascertaining why certain persons become addicts—while others do not. A group of former addicts and another group of non-addicted relatives of addicts will also be studied. In addition to these intensive group studies all the related factors of climate, availability of drugs, home life, crime, etc., will be studied as well as the laws which regulate the licit and illicit sale of narcotics, and those which govern the penalties inflicted for the possession of or the illegal traffic in narcotic drugs.

The research group will work in close liaison with agencies interested in improving the prevention and treatment resources concerned with drug addiction, and will also make general recommendations which it is hoped will be beneficial to the total problem. It is anticipated that research will be completed in about three years (early in 1957).

It is interesting to note that heroin is the chief drug of addiction and is nearly always taken intravenously. Many of the addicts are young people who have shown a predilection for alcohol and, not uncommonly, are unstable or deviant personalities, and have commonly engaged in antisocial behaviour before starting on the use of narcotics. As in other countries, the medical and allied professions contribute a relatively large quota of addicts.

As heroin is obtainable only on the black market at exorbitant prices, most male addicts resort to theft to buy their drugs, whereas most women resort to prostitution. Illegal possession of drugs is the usual charge of those arrested, the minimum sentence being six months. Many addicts are arrested because of their other illegal activities. For trafficking in narcotic drugs a recent amendment to the Opium and Narcotic Drug Act increases the penalty to 14 years.

It is significant to note the relatively large proportion of the inmates at Oakalla who are addicted to narcotics, in comparison with those who are not. Out of a total count of 854 males, 93 are addicted. Of the total count of 72 women inmates, 37 are addicted.

JUVENILE DELINQUENTS UNDER PUNITIVE DETENTION

A Study of the First Hundred Campsfield House Boys

By M. GRÜNHUT (Oxford)

Introduction

On August 25th, 1952, the first Detention Centre was opened at Campsfield House, Kidlington, near Oxford. On the same day, for the first time, a boy was sentenced to detention in a detention centre under sec. 18, Criminal Justice Act, 1948. On February 19th, 1953, the hundredth boy received such a sentence. By August 1953 the last of these hundred boys had been released from the Centre. The discussion which follows undertakes to analyse with a threefold aim the experience gained in respect of this first group of a hundred boys. It is intended to find out which are the types of boys the Magistrates send to the Centre; how different individual offenders respond to the new treatment, and whether, on the strength of the available evidence, any general considerations can be suggested for the selection of the sort of boy for whom this punitive detention seems advisable.

The investigation was undertaken with the consent and support of the Prison Commissioners, the Children's Department of the Home Office, and the Warden of Campsfield House. The author is greatly indebted for their kind interest and the generous way in which they facilitated the collection of material and the completion of the work. Thanks are further due to numerous Probation Officers and Headmasters of Approved Schools who contributed much helpful advice and valuable information. While such help was indispensable for the intended research, the author alone is responsible for the statements and conclusions in the discussion which follows.[1]

The introduction of detention in a detention centre by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, was meant to fill a gap in the prevailing system of penal and corrective measures. Within the last fifty years, in nearly all civilized countries, legal sanctions against juvenile delinquents and, to a lesser degree, those against minors over juvenile court age, have substantially changed.

[1] The field-work was done by Mr. G. D. Gotch, Mr. and Mrs. John Peck, and Mrs. E. Wiles, who collected the material and built up the case-studies. In order to secure the necessary uniformity in outlook and presentation, the whole assessment and tabulation of data was done by Mrs. S. McCabe, Research Assistant in Criminology.

More and more, constructive treatment, either institutional or extra-mural, of maladjusted youth has been substituted for mere punishment of a retributive or deterrent character. However, even in such a system, the Courts must have adequate powers to deal with a young law-breaker who shows no lasting maladjustment which demands a longer process of treatment, but needs a drastic 'halt' on an otherwise slippery way from casual offence to repeated criminal activities. For this purpose, Switzerland employs school arrest for children, and Germany has the 'disciplinary measure' of youth arrest.

In England this problem has become acute since the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, by the enabling clause of sec. 17(4), reveals the intention of the law-givers, as a long-term policy, to avoid prison sentences for minors up to 21 altogether. This aim, even in its first stage when it will be limited to sentences given by Courts of Summary Jurisdiction, cannot be reached unless there is an appropriate alternative. The need for treatment of a deliberately punitive character for young offenders, which is still acceptable from an educational point of view, is further emphasized by the fact that the same Act abolished corporal punishment. The difficulty was to design something which could satisfy the demand for an appropriate new form of punishment without showing the defects of the old penalties which it was intended to replace. For more than half a century it has been the avowed aim of all penal reformers to reduce, if not to eliminate, short prison sentences. It would, therefore, have been a retrograde step, if a new measure had resulted in a re-introduction of short prison sentences veiled under a disguising label. The Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, under sec. 54, introduced a new form of punitive detention in a Remand Home. However some critical observers have pointed out that Remand Homes, designed for entirely different purposes, are not suitable places for administering a measure intended as a punishment (1). The evidence of reconviction rates of juveniles treated in this way is not very favourable and rather discouraging in the case of repeaters and truants (2). In these circumstances, a punishment of a more personal character than a mere obligation to find the money for the payment of a fine ought to be more than a period of incarceration pure and simple. The short-term deprivation of liberty with its primarily punitive character should, at the same time, have a positive content. The often-heard words 'short, sharp shock' are rather unfortunate. They have, in fact, no place in the statute book. The goal aimed at has been much better characterized in the first Report on Detention Centres by the Prison Commissioners : 'Life at the Centre is strict and vigorous, the highest possible standard being required at the quickest possible tempo'. Detention in a detention centre is not intended to compete with Approved Schools and

Borstal training as a new form of institutional treatment, but has been designed for different purposes and for different types of offenders.

Campsfield House, originally built as a casual ward, is a well-designed stone building with several huts, standing in spacious grounds: the inner perimeter is surrounded by double wire-fencing. The Centre is a medium security place, intended to house 60 boys. The staff consists of twelve officers and two technical instructors, one for laundry work and one for gardening. The Warden has had a long experience as a Borstal Housemaster, and most of the officers have been transferred from the Borstal service. A matron, the only woman in the Centre, is responsible for the care of the boys under doctor's orders. On arrival, the boys are accommodated in small single rooms and later, with the exception of enuretics, 'promoted' to a dormitory. Each boy has a good bed and a well-designed, prison-made individual locker.

The better part of the boys' work is done in the open, weather-proof clothing allowing outdoor work at almost any season. A good deal of soil had to be moved for the construction of proper playing fields. The insistence on good appearance involves much cleaning and maintenance and there is also gardening and laundry work. The boys work under supervision, but those promoted to 'senior' grade may move unescorted within the grounds of the Centre. Schoolboys attend classes given by a teacher seconded from the Local Education Authority, in the morning and afternoon, and join the work parties for one hour after their lessons. Physical training and gymnastics are part of the daily curriculum. Before every meal, the boys have to wash and also to change their clothes. The working day ends with tea at 5 p.m., which is followed by a silent half-hour, intended for reading and writing, and then the boys listen to the six o'clock news on which they are questioned afterwards. One evening a week is devoted to religious instruction and three others to further education. Schoolboys attend classes in handicraft and the older boys have two nights theoretical instruction and one night an optional subject, which they choose themselves from a list of five, metalwork, woodwork, art, modelling or current affairs. After supper at 8.10, and prayers, the day ends with lights out at 9.5 p.m.

The detention régime is more impersonal and leaves less to the boys' initiative than that of most Borstal institutions. At the same time, and in a less visible way, attention is given to the specific needs and prospects of the individual boy. The Warden sees each boy personally after his admission, and the boys turn to him with their problems. Each officer is entrusted with the task of watching over the conduct and development of a number of boys. Exchange of experience with probation officers and welfare officers in respect of individual boys is much welcomed by the Warden.

Disciplinary punishments are, in the main, forfeiture of remission and earnings, and removal to a detention room. This is a small room with a mattress on the floor, little furniture and iron bars on the windows. The boy has to do his full share of work but alone and under constant supervision; it is admissible to combine this punishment with restriction of normal activities, or with extra work and fatigues. According to the Prison Commissioners' Report for 1952, during the first five months, when 75 boys passed through the Centre, removal to a detention room was ordered in 19 cases.

The Centre has a Board of Visitors with the same functions of a semi-judicial control as the corresponding Boards of Borstal institutions. In both cases, the majority of its members are magistrates.

The theoretical conception of detention is indispensable for an interpretation of the magistrates' treatment practice as well as for the development of any further principles for a rational penal policy. The magistrates are confronted with a dilemma. They are obviously and understandably reluctant to commit first offenders without serious social maladjustment to what is, to all intents and purposes, a severe punishment, and they are not infrequently inclined, when probation and Approved Schools have failed to overcome lasting social maladjustment, to try this new and apparently more intense form of punishment. The observations which follow will illustrate this point in the light of the first limited amount of practical experience.

The Boys. Their Personal Characteristics and Past Careers

Out of the group of 100 boys received at Campsfield House, one boy of 16 absconded after only a few days at the Centre. He was committed, by a new Court order, to a Nautical (Approved) School, committed further offences and finally found his way to Borstal. He has therefore been excluded from this survey. The observations which follow are based on the experience in respect of 99 boys who had to undergo the treatment at the Centre for various lengths of time. The sentences passed were :

Committed for 1 month	3
Committed for 2 months	12
Committed for 3 months	71
Committed for 4 months	4
Committed for 6 months	9
	99

The terms of the sentences are not identical with the actual periods spent at the Centre. Three of the 9 six-month sentences were reduced on appeal and three others by the Home Secretary. According to Rule 26, Detention Centre

Rules, 1952, the boys who are serving sentence of more than three months may earn a remission of one-sixth of their term, but not infrequently remission is forfeited as a disciplinary punishment. In conformity with sec. 18, Criminal Justice Act, the three-month sentence has become the rule.

Campsfield House is a junior detention centre designed for boys between 14 and 17. Within this group of 99, the age at the time of the conviction was : 14 years, 20 boys ; 15 years, 43 boys ; 16 years, 36 boys. This age distribution indicates that there were schoolboys as well as young wage-earners among the inmates. 26 still attended school, 4 were pupils of Approved Schools and 69 were wage-earners.

With regard to the boys' criminality, the particular offence, and for that matter, the particular form of larceny which precipitated their committal, is less important than their criminal careers as a whole. In Juvenile Courts, magistrates do not consider primarily the single criminal act which brought the young delinquent before the Court, but they try to assess with a comprehensive view the personality of the offender and the pattern of his life. Accordingly the boys have been divided into three sub-groups ; those with no previous known criminal experience, those with a moderate, and those with a serious criminal experience. Those listed as boys with no previous criminal experience are, as far as Court appearance is concerned, first offenders. Three of them were convicted of larceny, one of misappropriating a sum of £102, five were guilty of breaking and entering and one of unlawfully driving away a motor car. Only a further follow-up can show whether that first act of delinquency was a casual offence or a first manifestation of a persistent criminal inclination. Moderate criminal experience means a career of up to three previous convictions, or less, if there is one of a particularly grave character. Serious criminal experience means more than three previous convictions, or less, if one is of a particularly grave character. There is only one case of a boy who was given an assessment of serious criminal experience on the strength of one previous conviction only. This was a boy who took a motor car, was put on probation and then sent to Campsfield House when he did the same thing five weeks later. As a result of this assessment, there were :

With no criminal experience ...	...	9
With moderate criminal experience	...	75
With serious criminal experience	...	15
		99

The most spectacular record of a criminal career is the case of a boy of 15, a semi-orphan, from a home with a good personal atmosphere, but whose

youngest brother is in an Approved School. This boy had ten convictions, mostly for larceny and breaking and entering, between 5.7.46 and 10.10.52. After his term at Campsfield House, he was convicted again and found his way to Borstal.

The boys' criminal experience is, to a certain extent, reflected in the history of penal and corrective treatment they had undergone before their committal to the Centre. In this context, treatment is used in the strict sense of the word, which implies direct personal approach to the offender and thus excludes absolute and conditional discharge as well as fines. Of the 99 boys, there were with

No previous treatment	20
Probation only	44
Probation and institutional treatment ...	29
Institutional treatment only	6
	99

Seven of the boys had previously been detained in a Remand Home under sec. 54 of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1933, and 26 had been in Approved Schools.

For a further characterization of the patterns of life of boys committed to the Centre, home background and work habits appeared to be the most significant single factors. The home background was assessed with regard to three different aspects, satisfactory and unsatisfactory material conditions, complete natural home or broken home, good or bad family relationships. A positive assessment on all three items would be assessed as a good home background, a positive on only one or even none of three items would be regarded as a bad home background, and the rest as fair. On the strength of the evidence extracted from the boys' personal files, 20 had a good, 35 a fair and 24 a bad home background. With regard to work habits manifested before the boys came to the Centre, information was available for 68 wage-earners and 27 schoolboys. Of the 68 wage-earners, 16 were good workers, 32 fair, and 20 were indifferent towards work. Among the 27 schoolboys, two were good at work, 19 fair and 6 indifferent.

An attempt has also been made to determine the characteristic life pattern of the boys in a more comprehensive way. What we call social adjustment is behaviour in conformity with certain standards, and an attitude towards life which manifests itself at various levels, in a boy's work, in his spare-time activities, in his companionship and in his relationship to his parents and to the staff at the institution. On the basis of the facts known about the boys, their attitude and behaviour in each of the four spheres

was assessed either positively or negatively. If he was a success all round, he was marked +4, if he failed in all four respects, he was marked −4, with corresponding marks between +3 and −3 for partial success and failure. In the light of this assessment the social adjustment of the boys before they entered Campsfield House gives the following result :

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

Good (+4, +3)	8
Satisfactory (+2, +1)	33
*Indifferent (0)	16
Unsatisfactory (−2, −1)	31
Bad (−3, −4)	10
	98

* This category includes cases where information was insufficient to make any assessment.

These figures and groupings have not the weight of objective statistical data, but they are a simplified illustration of the types of boy received at the Centre. They suggest that the group under observation is by no means a one-sided selection of wayward youth with extensive symptoms of social maladjustment, although it comprises a notable proportion of boys of this type.

SENTENCING PRACTICE OF THE COURTS

The Cambridge Survey of Detention in Remand Homes provides an opportunity for examining the present sentencing practice of the Courts in comparison with committals to Remand Homes in the years 1945-48. For this purpose the inmates of a junior detention centre have to be compared with the seniors under punitive detention in Remand Homes. Such a comparison gives the impression that, with the substitution of a detention centre for Remand Homes, the use of detention shifted to more serious cases. Among the senior boys detained in Remand Homes, almost every second, viz. 44·8 per cent., was 14 years of age, while among the Campsfield House boys only every fifth was of that age. 22·4 per cent. of the boys in Remand Homes, but only 9 per cent. of Campsfield House boys were first offenders. While the Centre had 14 per cent. of the boys with more than three previous convictions, among boys between 12 and 16 detained in Remand Homes, the corresponding proportion was only 2·7 per cent. (3). This notable trend in the treatment practice of the Courts is probably in conformity with the intention of the lawgivers.

The data given above on the boys' personal characteristics, past careers and length of sentence illustrate the present-day sentencing practice in general. The figures in respect of the 99 boys are, however, the outcome of 55 Courts. Therefore they veil a considerable amount of local variation in the practice of individual Courts. In order to obtain more reliable figures, the aggregate numbers were broken up into three groups. The result is presented in Table I below. The figures of this Table give the impression that the London Courts are more inclined to send serious cases to the Centre. The number of boys with a considerable criminal record is higher than in the provincial districts outside the Black Country, although Courts in these provincial districts commit a larger number of older boys to Campsfield House. At the same time the provincial Courts apparently prefer longer sentences. In the Black Country, the magistrates seem to be reluctant to send boys with Approved School experience to the Centre.

TABLE I

Analysis by Regions

	Number of Cases				*Number with* Serious *Criminal Experience*	*Probationers* without *Institutional Treatment*	*Approved School Cases*	*Sentences over 6 Months*
	Age 14	15	16	*Total*				
London and Home Counties .	12	21	22	55	9	20	17	4
Black Country .	2	9	4	15	4	6	1	3
Other regions .	6	13	10	29	2	18	8	6
Totals . .	20	43	36	99	15	44	26	13

AFTER-CONDUCT

The crucial question in any treatment research is the effect of the treatment on the offender's behaviour when he has been discharged and takes his place again in society. As far as the concept of effect implies a causal relationship between the treatment awarded and administered on the one hand, and the offender's after-conduct on the other, this is a proposition which is extremely difficult to ascertain. Only a very close study of the individual cases can give an answer to the question whether and how far a blameless life or a relapse into crime can be attributed to the success or failure of the preceding treatment. Short of this, however, it is indispensable for an

assessment of the merits or demerits of the new measure to put on record the facts available about the boys' further careers after they were discharged from Campsfield House. Obviously, the longer the post-treatment period under observation, the greater the risk of recidivism. The fixing of such a period is always somewhat arbitrary, but it seems fair to say that a short-term treatment intended for less deep-rooted and lasting forms of maladjustment should be judged in the light of experience over not too long a period. Out of the 99 boys who were the first to undergo detention in Campsfield House, 21 were reconvicted within the first six months after their release from the Centre. Six further boys were reconvicted before the completion of the field-work for this survey at the end of November 1953, after they had spent more than six months without a reappearance before the Court. If one breaks up the total of reconvictions according to the time elapsed between the date of discharge and the date of reconviction, the result is as follows :

Reconvictions within the first three months	12
During the fourth month	5
During the fifth month	3
During the sixth month	1
	21
After more than six months ...	6
	27

A comparison of the after-careers of boys released from detention in Remand Homes results in the following figures (4).

TABLE II

	Detention in Remand Homes Boys 12–16	*Detention in Detention Centre Boys* 14–16
Percentage of reconvictions in first three months	19·2	12
In 4th–6th month	10·6	9
Total relapses within six months . .	29·8	21

Unfortunately, these figures are not strictly comparable, since the Cambridge Survey gives reconvictions for single months only for the wider age-

group 12–16. However, the evidence available suggests that differences in ages among the boys detained in Remand Homes do not affect the reconviction rates. With this reservation, the figures show that, although more serious cases have been committed to the Detention Centre than to the Remand Homes, the Campsfield House boys had a better chance of keeping themselves free from criminal activities during the first three months after their release. It is interesting to note that in Birmingham, where a special Remand Home was established for senior boys of 12–16, the boys of 14–16 had a reconviction rate of 28·7 per cent. only for a follow-up period of more than a year, the lowest rate on record.

TABLE III

Number of Reconvictions in Relation to Personal Characteristics and Past Careers of Boys Sentenced to Detention

Ages	14 *years*	15 *years*	16 *years*
No. of boys	20	43	36
Reconvictions	2	12	13
Criminal Record	*None*	*Moderate*	*Serious*
Previous criminal experience	9	75	15
Reconvictions	4	16	7

Previous Treatment	*None*	*Probation only*	*Probation plus Institutional Treatment*	*Institutional Treatment only*
No. of boys	20	44	29	6
Reconvictions	4	4	17	2

Home Background	*Good*	*Fair*	*Bad*
No. of boys	20	55	24
Reconvictions	7	11	9

For an interpretation of the reconviction figures, it is important to know who are the boys who, after being discharged from Campsfield House, succeed in avoiding the commission of further offences, and who are the ones who failed. Table III shows the distribution of reconvictions among

the various groups into which the Campsfield House population has been broken. Out of the 26 schoolboys only two relapsed. Four other boys were still under an Approved School order; two of them relapsed. Out of the 69 wage-earners, 23 were reconvicted. A study of the figures in Table III shows that the highest rate of reconviction is among those who have been committed to the Centre after a long history of extra-mural and institutional experience. To a certain extent, these cases overlap with those characterized by serious criminal experience. Boys with a number of subsequent offences have probably undergone consecutive periods of penal and corrective treatment. However, the number and the proportion of reconvictions is even higher among those with different forms of previous treatment than in respect of boys with serious criminal experience. It would be misleading to say that, in general, the mere fact that a boy had been committed to some form of penal and corrective treatment involves in itself a bad risk. What can, in fairness, be said is that those, certainly a minority, who *fail after repeated previous treatment* have no good prospects for a law-abiding life after a further period in the Detention Centre. Failure after repeated treatment of different kinds is a stronger indication of unsuccessful treatment in the Detention Centre than the gravity of a boy's criminal activities.

The reconviction rate is particularly high for those Campsfield House boys who committed offences after they had been in Approved Schools. Out of the 26 pupils and former pupils of Approved Schools, more than every second, *i.e.*, 14, were reconvicted.

At the other end of the scale are those who failed during or after probation without any experience in an institution. Out of 44 of these boys, only 4 were reconvicted.

It cannot be said from these figures alone how far the sombre prospects of former pupils of Approved Schools are due to the fact that they are too much 'institutionalized' to be treated successfully by a different institutional method. If out of 44 probationers or former probationers only 4 were reconvicted, the difference in the after-conduct of these two groups is also one of selection compared with those who had been committed to Approved Schools. However, the effect of a brief period of strict institutional discipline on a boy who never lived outside his home is probably much greater than on a boy who has been accustomed to the routine of institutional life. While, on the whole, probation officers are inclined to be sceptical about the result of a short-term treatment which does not reach the roots of the trouble, they sometimes put on record a notable change in the boy's attitude and conduct. A retarded and untrustworthy boy showed 'an all-round improvement', another tried hard to settle down in the face of difficult home conditions, a third gained his parents' approval for they found him

more communicative and punctual than before. In the case of a boy convicted of an assault causing bodily harm, the effect is apparently one of deterrence only; he would avoid the sort of offence which brought him to Kidlington, but otherwise he is still inclined to violent outbursts. In another case of a boy who had experience of probation and an Approved School as well, the probation officer felt that the boy's term at Kidlington might even add to his esteem among his undesirable companions.

A study of the preceding figures suggests the possibility of a certain overlapping of the cases in the various groups under observation. They are probably the same boys who, as the older ones, the wage-earners, with considerable criminal experience and a longer history of penal and corrective treatment, show a higher reconviction rate. In order to determine the hard core, within these different groups, a twofold selection was made out of the total of 99 boys under observation, *viz.*, first of all, those of 14 years of age, schoolboys, with moderate criminal experience and probation only, and, secondly, those of 15 and 16 years of age, wage-earners, with serious criminal experience and previous extra-mural *and* institutional treatment. In the first category, in respect of all four factors on the positive side, were 9 boys and not one of them was reconvicted. In the second category, with all four unfavourable factors prevailing, there were also 9 boys, 6 of whom were reconvicted. While this is a result which one might have expected, it is interesting to study the reasons why some of the boys in the same appalling circumstances have not reverted to crime. In most of these cases with a multitude of adverse factors, frequently aggravated by a bad home background, the Warden and the staff at the Centre expressed doubt whether a short term of institutional treatment would be sufficient to bring about a fundamental change of character, outlook and habits. In one case, a boy of 15, with a history of seven cases of breaking and entering and larceny from the age of 9, made a notable effort during his detention; he then moved from the home of his father and unmarried step-mother to the more stable home of an uncle and aunt. Another boy of 15, untrustworthy and retarded, after a faulty education, with four of his seven brothers and sisters in conflict with the law, adapted himself fairly well to the discipline at the Centre, as he was accustomed to institutional routine from former experience in a Remand Home and an Approved School. He had to appear before the Court, charged jointly with an Army deserter with breaking and entering, but the older boy accepted full responsibility and there was not sufficient evidence to convict the Campsfield House boy. Much seems to depend on whether his girl-friend will succeed in keeping him away from his old undesirable companions.

Another way of comparing types of boys characterized by a combination

of either favourable or unfavourable circumstances would be to select those who were, before they came to the Centre, socially adjusted or maladjusted according to an assessment which takes into account work habits, spare-time activities, companionship and relation to parents. Out of the 41 socially adjusted boys there were 5 who were reconvicted, but among the 41 maladjusted boys there were 22 reconvictions. All the 5 socially adjusted boys who were reconvicted belong to the group of 26 who only scored +1 in the assessment of adjustment. None of the 15 boys who scored +2 and +3 and (one only) +4 was reconvicted. It is not surprising to find that a juvenile delinquent who is otherwise socially adjusted has a fair chance of avoiding further conflicts with the law after a brief period of penal and corrective treatment.

Since a previous section of this report drew attention to certain differences in the sentencing practice of the Courts in various districts, the outcome of such different selections must also be studied in respect of further reconvictions.

TABLE IV

Boys sent from Courts in	*Total number*	*Re-convictions*
London and Home Counties .	55	20
Black Country . . .	15	2
Other regions . . .	29	5
	99	27

If one compares these figures with the evidence of the types of delinquent selected by the Courts for detention, as it has been presented in Table I of the preceding section of this report, it becomes apparent that the committal of the more serious cases from the London area results in a high proportion of failures. While 55 per cent. of the Campsfield House boys come from London and the Home Counties, 74 per cent. of the reconvictions apply to boys from the London Courts.

From the point of view of practical penal policy, the prevention of further wrong-doing is the immediate aim of penal and corrective treatment. However, for the assessment of a juvenile's re-adaptation to society, the mere absence of reconvictions is not the only test, nor is the final success impaired by a reconviction alone. The after-careers of the Campsfield House boys, whether they were reconvicted or not, must, therefore, be studied in relation to their successful or unsuccessful adjustment in other spheres as well. For

this purpose, an assessment of their work habits, spare-time activities, choice of companions and relations to parents or to the staff of the institution, as it has been used to characterize the boys before they entered Campsfield House, has been carried further as far as the information from institutional staff and after-care officers was available, to the time they spent at the Centre and to the time after their release. An attempt was therefore made to follow up the rise and fall in the scores between +4 and −4 for individual boys from period to period. This investigation had the following result. Compared with the time spent at the Centre, 20 boys lost in their adjustment scores when they were released and 27 improved their scores. A comparison between the time before and the period after treatment at the Centre is probably more revealing. As a result, 18 boys deteriorated in their adjustment from the pre-treatment period, but 32 improved. It is interesting to correlate progress and regression with absence or occurrence of reconvictions. Out of the 32 boys who improved their social adjustment 4 were reconvicted, and of the 18 who lost in their social adjustment, 7 were reconvicted. This relative conformity between the two sets of figures is what one would expect.

The significance of the boys' after-careers will never be adequately described by a mere place in a scoring system. Social adjustment is a highly individualistic process. Each boy's success or failure is a story of its own, revealing an endless variety of favourable and unfavourable character traits, of good and bad home background, of a brave struggle or self-indulgent evasion in the face of heavy odds, and all this is woven into a characteristic pattern of life. There are cases with a notable improvement after the term of detention. A schoolboy, before the Court for the second time on four charges of stealing cycle fixtures in company with another boy, tried his best at the Centre. He seemed not to be a strong character. His shyness and quick temper were handicaps in his relations with other people. While it was felt at the Centre that the shock of being sent away from home might keep him out of trouble, the probation officer found his character stabilized, his behaviour exemplary, with a willingness to accept responsibility and good prospects in his training at a Catering School. Likewise, a builder's labourer, in spite of his unsatisfactory work record at the Centre, and a prospect of no more than a mere deterrent effect at the end of his sentence, made remarkable progress both as a good worker and in his relation to his family. Sometimes, the enforced interruption of the boy's accustomed way of life proved a help in breaking with undesirable associations. A former member of the Barge Club, a weak character, though not fundamentally bad, broke away from the old area and his former companions with whom he had stolen a car. He has a good work-record in a well-paid job.

There may be progress in social adjustment even in spite of a reconviction. A boy of 15, immature and easily led, committed the same offence of stealing from a gas meter again, which had brought him to Campsfield House. At the same time, he changed his occupation from a labourer to an apprentice welder, proved to be an energetic worker, joined a Youth Club, formed desirable friendships, and now hands his earnings to his parents. The decisive factors, in the opinion of his probation officer, were his regular work and earnings, the more co-operative interest of his parents, but also the helpful effect of the time spent at Campsfield House. Social adjustment is gaining maturity. It is, therefore, essential for any form of penal and corrective treatment of young offenders, at least not to impair this natural, though often retarded, process and, if possible, to facilitate it. A young man in a chocolate factory, a good worker both at the Centre and in the factory, had stolen from his employer. The Warden observed 'a stiffening of moral fibre'. After his release he found one firm friend who kept him away from undesirable surroundings. The poor family relationships due to his parents' divorce now seemed to disturb him less. Likewise a school-leaver, on probation for wilful damage, who was committed to the Centre for housebreaking with two others, settled down well as an assistant nurseryman and forester, with a growing maturity in outlook and behaviour. His parents too were more ready to co-operate with the probation officer under the shock of the boy's second offence. In other cases, the boy's future is still in the balance, and one can only hope that he may become more mature before he becomes entangled in new criminal activities and moves further on his way to Borstal and prison. A schoolboy, committed for his second case of theft, seemed at the Centre to overcome his suspicious and evasive attitude and to become a hard worker with a certain pride in himself. His mother, a widow, whose influence on the boy was not very strong, thought the habits formed at Campsfield House were a lasting benefit, while the probation officer found him still somewhat wary and withdrawn. Sometimes the outcome is more doubtful. A young, unskilled factory worker from a large step-father family, where all the members stuck very closely together, was, with two of his brothers, concerned in a series of thefts which meant for him a life of excitement and adventure. His sentence at Campsfield seemed rather to satisfy his pride than to benefit his development. Six weeks after his release, he tried with his brothers to break into a coffee stall. For this offence a requirement of residence in a hostel was inserted in the probation order which was still running from a previous offence. It remains to be seen whether this separation from his brothers will help him to settle down in a law-abiding life. In the case of a young labourer, with a long history of probation, Approved School and Detention Centre, and a further offence

after his release, there remains only the vague hope that life in the army might help him to become more mature.

In contrast to those cases which give evidence of a more or less strong positive influence of the detention sentence, there are others where Campsfield House seemed to exert a mere deterrent effect, without affecting the boy's life and habits. An assistant in a men's wear shop, an intelligent boy with a somewhat exaggerated adolescence conflict and personal difficulties with his father, remained the typical ' dance-hall habitué ', and became only more 'careful not to step too far over the line '. Likewise a school-leaver, with a criminal record of six offences since he was eleven years old and a history of Child Guidance treatment for pilfering and behaviour difficulties, remained unsatisfactory at the Centre. Afterwards, at a bakery, he was still at cross-purposes with his parents, but he was more cautious in avoiding direct conflicts with the law. A wholesome fear of the consequences alone does not offer a favourable prospect in the face of strong adverse circumstances. Rather is it likely to wear off in the course of time. Even the beginnings of some positive improvement may be too short-lived. One of the boys from an Approved School, whose father, three brothers and a sister had a criminal record, was, on his return to the Approved School, a better worker and more rapid in his movements and, on the whole, more co-operative. However, when the memory of the unpleasant experience at Campsfield House grew fainter, he thought less of the possible consequences of unsatisfactory behaviour, absconded with another pupil of the same type, committed a ' string of offences ' and found himself in prison committed for trial. Not only are good intentions and the fear of what may happen after a further conviction soon forgotten, but also, in some cases, the pledge to accept voluntarily the probation officer's help. Two boys, both with unsatisfactory home backgrounds, one a somewhat unstable and undependable lad, the other vigorous in work and play, evaded the voluntary supervision of the probation officer, but kept free from further offences during the period of observation.

Finally there are cases where, even in the absence of further reconvictions, the whole pattern of an a-social and wayward life remains unchanged. Two boys were committed for stealing jointly a handbag from a girl. One was a weak character, ' sleepy ', with a somewhat negative attitude. He was neglected by his parents who were both of low mentality and lax morals. The father had been convicted of an assault on his wife. The other boy, regarded as a steady character at the Centre, accepted voluntary after-care. His father has been described as an aggressive character who in the past disavowed responsibility for his children; his mother is mentally below normal, and his eldest brother, who has a criminal record, was said to be

schizophrenic. Both boys are by no means out of danger. The first one is hampered in his adjustment by the extremely bad home background which cannot be outweighed by the possible influence of any short-term treatment. The second one remained a 'drifter' with a bad work record as a driller in a foundry, not co-operating with the probation officer, but following the lead of his anti-social elder brother. A labourer with a history of four offences and repeated unsuccessful terms of probation, whose mother lives with another married man, had a good record with regard to character and work at Campsfield House. After his release, he changed his job six times in nine months, associated with an ex-Borstal boy, who, he thought, was being paid 'for doing nothing'. He affected an extravagant hair-style and remained sullen and uncommunicative to the probation officer. A boy from an Approved School who was committed to the Centre for his sixth theft showed good intentions but lack of determination. According to the Approved School report, there must be an underlying problem, although no efforts, not even psychiatric treatment, had been able to bring it to the surface. He came from a good and respectable home, the father being a carpenter at a Mental Hospital. He changed his job frequently, was constantly in debt and has been described as a bad mixer, almost without any emotional response and a constant source of friction at home. Although he did not break the law during the time from his release to the end of this investigation, he remained socially maladjusted in the highest degree.

These brief extracts from case-studies confirm and supplement the evidence of the preceding facts and figures. They illustrate cases where a sentence of detention brings about an effective break with anti-social habits and undesirable companions, helps the boy to gain maturity and even provides him with some stamina to overcome a weak and indulgent way of drifting into bad company and unlawful pursuits. At the same time, they show examples of social maladjustment due to deep-rooted personal causes or to an overwhelming coincidence of adverse conditions where neither the inculcation of fear nor even a vigorous training in alertness and self-discipline can hope to overcome an inherent danger of repeated and persistent delinquency.

Conclusions

The evidence derived from an analysis of the case histories of the first hundred boys is not sufficient to justify a final judgment on the merits or otherwise of detention in a detention centre. Much larger numbers would be necessary to find out, for example, whether a certain type of offender has a better chance after a long or a brief sentence of detention. A study of one penal or corrective method alone can never prove how far this particular

method is effective. Only if after-careers of comparable types of offenders who underwent different forms of treatment are investigated, can the relative efficiency of a particular measure be assessed. If delinquent wage-earners with a considerable experience of extra-mural and institutional treatment have a high reconviction rate after a sentence of detention, they are probably bad crime risks after other forms of treatment as well.

With these reservations, however, it would be equally wrong to dismiss the experience with the first batch of Campsfield House boys as irrelevant altogether. There are two conclusions which can be drawn from the facts and figures of this brief survey. The first is that a moderate criminal experience in the past does not rule out a fair prospect of success after a period of detention. Obviously it is difficult for any corrective system to offer a remedy for those who revert to crime after a period in an Approved School. They have, by this very fact, failed in a most revealing test of corrigibility and their adaptation to institutional routine is a disadvantage for any subsequent treatment. However, two observations can be made to show that boys reconvicted after they had been in an Approved School should not be committed to a Detention Centre. It is a fair proposition that, where a long-term institutional treatment has failed, no short-term institutional treatment of whatever form can hope to succeed. The second observation is that, if indeed the impressive experience of a short but strict institutional discipline helps a juvenile to break with bad habits and undesirable companions, this effect can only be achieved where the compulsory and minutely regulated life in the institution is entirely new to the boy. The same consideration is a possible explanation for the fact that boys who failed on probation have a fair prospect of avoiding further trouble after a term of detention. Some of the probation officers' reports give the impression that the term of detention proved to be an impressive break which facilitated a boy's attempts to turn over a new leaf. It is fair to assume that the reason is not only a more positive selection of offenders and the lack of familiarity with institutional routine, but also the fact that, where probation continued, it fulfilled the function of personal after-care, undertaken by an officer whom the boy knew before.

These considerations lead to the second conclusion. Detention in a detention centre seems to be followed by a ' time of grace ' which should be used for every possible effort to help the boy to a lasting social adjustment. The fact that 88 per cent. of the boys were not reconvicted during the first three months after they had left Campsfield House is a favourable outcome and a valuable opportunity. Constructive after-care must therefore begin immediately after the boy's release from detention and continue for a considerable time. It is difficult, at this initial stage, to find out how far con-

tinuation of probation, supervision of former pupils of Approved Schools, and voluntarily accepted supervision by a probation officer serve that purpose sufficiently.

Even with an intensified after-care effort, the possibilities of punitive detention should not be over-estimated. It cannot strike at the roots of lasting maladjustment where more is necessary than a resolute determination to break with former habits and old companions. The older boys, who are wage-earners, with a serious criminal experience and a history of unsuccessful extra-mural and institutional treatment, had a reconviction rate of 6 out of 9; or, as a result of a different, but likewise comprehensive approach, boys with definite symptoms of social maladjustment even apart from their delinquency had a reconviction rate of 22 out of 41, while the general reconviction rate of the whole group during a period of six months and, in certain cases, beyond, was 27 per cent. These figures characterize the limits of the new measure. At the other end of the scale are those boys even with a moderate criminal experience who failed on probation, but kept straight after the experience of Campsfield House. Only 4 out of this group of 44 reverted to crime. While these observations do not allow any prediction of exact crime risks for the guidance of the sentencing Courts, they illustrate certain considerations which are suggested by the evidence so far available.

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(1) *Report of the Care of Children Committee*, (1946) para. 52, p. 16; para. 501, p. 172.
JOHN A. F. WATSON, *The Child and the Magistrate*. (Second ed. 1950) p. 204.

(2) *Detention in Remand Homes*. Report of the Cambridge Department of Criminal Science, in English Studies in Criminal Science, 1952. Vol. VII.
See also review by Mrs. M. J. Robinson, *Probation* (1953), 6, No. 20, p. 237.

(3) *Loc. cit.* p. 6, Table 1; p. 12, Tables 9 and 10.

(4) Computed from figures given *loc. cit.* p. 7, Table 2, and p. 54, Table 48.

LEISURE PURSUITS OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS: A STUDY IN METHODOLOGY

By TADEUSZ GRYGIER (London)

I. Introduction : The Survey of Literature

The purpose of this paper is to present a short report on a research carried out by the present writer at the Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency, London.[1]

It was planned to make a thorough psychiatric and social investigation of a random sample of 100 juvenile delinquents, convicted at least twice for serious offences. The aim of this pilot survey was to find out not only what are the typical leisure pursuits of juvenile delinquents of a certain age range ($12\frac{1}{2}$–$14\frac{1}{2}$), but also how these pursuits correlate with some important factors in their personality, family and social background, etc. By this method it was hoped to arrive at some tentative conclusions regarding the degree to which certain leisure pursuits may be held responsible for delinquent behaviour (or, on the other hand, may have some preventive effect), and in what respect both delinquent and leisure activities have a common cause in the basic psychological make-up of the child.

As the first step in this research an extensive survey of literature on leisure and delinquency was made. The aim of this survey was restricted to a critical examination of the existing literature from the point of view of methodology and evidence for or against a relationship between leisure pursuits and delinquency; it does not pretend to cover the whole literature on the subject. It deals, in particular, with representative contributions to definitions and concepts, classifications, ethical and philosophical aspects of leisure; with general surveys devoted to, or including, leisure pursuits; with studies of the relationship between the lack of leisure facilities and delinquency; with the relationship between club membership and delinquency; with the leisure interests of delinquents; with the rôle of certain amusements in delinquency; finally, with the rôle of cinema attendance and newspaper reading in juvenile delinquency. This is a broad field and it would be impossible to do it justice in this paper; I can only summarize very briefly the main conclusions bearing on the subsequent pilot research.

[1] This research was financed in the first instance by a generous gift from the Lord Mayor's United Nations Fund for Children: it was also supported by contributions from the I.S.T.D. and in its final stages was financed by the Chairmen of the Metropolitan Juvenile Courts. A monograph dealing more fully with this research will appear in the near future.

The problem discussed in this study has many aspects, and has been investigated by many different methods, with conflicting and, generally speaking, inconclusive results. Thus, 'general surveys' provide a mass of unrelated facts which do not lend themselves to drawing conclusions. Their aim is not to formulate, and still less to test hypotheses, but only to present facts. Since those are usually not given in their true perspective, the 'general survey' may only be regarded as the first step in the exploration of a problem. The writings discussing concepts, classifications, ethical and philosophical aspects of leisure stimulate rather than provide evidence. While 'general surveys' outline the field of study and are useful in formulating hypotheses, they do no more.

The studies bearing on the relationship between leisure facilities and delinquency represent a further step. They start with a hypothesis of a negative association between the two: some of them are contented with observation and common sense, others enquire further and calculate correlation co-efficients. Here they usually leave research and begin speculation on causality. They assume that, once an association is proved by statistics, one of the associated factors must be the cause of the other. This is unjustified. The association between leisure facilities and delinquency may well be incidental, since these facilities are only a specific feature of the general well-being of a community. In order to settle this question we need research by more refined methods, either by applying the technique of equated samples or, possibly, of factorial analysis.

Similar remarks apply to the relationship between club membership and delinquency. Here the evidence is even more conflicting, and the interpretations more numerous. The remedy seems to lie in more comprehensive research, not limited to the statistics on club membership and crime, but enquiring into many social and psychological problems related to both.

Leisure interests of delinquents may be regarded as the other side of the same problem. The methods of research differ: the use of questionnaires and of equated samples prevails. The results are conflicting, and this may be caused by the difference between methods, inadequately described, or by the unreliability of the method, in particular of the questionnaire type. There is a great need for research by methods the reliability of which is unquestioned or, at least, adequately assessed, and for more comprehensive research not only into supposed differences between delinquents and non-delinquents but into their conditioning factors as well.

The part played in delinquency by various amusements has not been sufficiently studied. The investigations are focused mainly on the cinema and on newspaper reading, and proceed by questionnaire, which seems to have little validity in assessing such subtle influences as the 'social climate'

of the films or the effect of newspapers on attitudes towards crime. Here again more refined techniques are needed: observation in controlled situations and projective tests are suggested.

To conclude : Little is known in the field under discussion, because most investigators have paid relatively more attention to the amount of evidence than to its reliability. Conclusions and armchair speculations occupy more space in their writings than the description of the method by which the information was gained. The greatest need is not for *more* information, but for more *reliable* information, and therefore for research into methods rather than into problems.

II. The Experimental Population; The Research Sheets

In accordance with the above conclusions, the original aim of this enquiry had to be changed. We had no ready-made method of starting any fact-finding research. Instead of finding out the truth we had to prepare the ground for collecting reliable information. Instead of consistency in method a great flexibility was needed to find out the best method. On the other hand, the shift of interest from facts to methods made it possible to abandon the principle of random selection of the experimental population: it was enough to ensure that our subjects should not be so abnormal as to require a special method of investigation. For that purpose an enquiry based on consecutive cases admitted to the Portman Clinic (I.S.T.D.) for diagnosis and treatment of delinquency appeared adequate. The only restrictions made were the exclusion of all cases of serious mental disorder and the limitation of the experiment to boys aged $12\frac{1}{2}$ to $14\frac{1}{2}$. This group is still young enough to facilitate various checks on the information given by the subject himself (in particular through parents and teachers), and yet it is old enough for direct questioning. It is also an age group of high delinquency rate, and therefore of special interest to criminologists.

For various reasons the size of the experimental group had to be limited to twelve boys who underwent a full investigation on the lines indicated below. Eight other boys in the same age group underwent at least some of the examinations and provided additional data interesting for methodology.

In order to investigate the merits of different types of enquiry and the reliability and validity of different types of information a number of research sheets were devised. These provided not only information on leisure pursuits themselves, but also general information about each boy in the light of which his leisure pursuits could be assessed. The clinical staff of the Portman Clinic, under the general direction of Dr. Denis Carroll, collaborated in the collection of data and in the process of devising and improving the research sheets; I am greatly indebted to them all.

The following sheets were used :

(*a*) *General Data Sheet*. This sheet was filled in by the Clinic clerical staff and was based on data supplied by the technical workers of the Clinic. It covered all essential personal data and a summary of information contained in the file. Among other items it dealt with the offences committed by the subject, with the Court proceedings, with the examinations and treatment received at the Clinic, and with disposal and the follow-up. It proved to be so useful that it has remained the routine form to be used for all patients examined at the Portman Clinic after this research had been completed.

(*b*) *Physical and Psychosomatic Sheet*. This sheet has also remained as a part of the routine examination at the Portman Clinic.[2] It contains a variety of data regarding physical health ; it mentions traumas, handicaps and sources of frustration which originate in the physical but have bearing on the mental state ; finally, it summarizes indications and contra-indications for vocational and leisure pursuits. It is filled in by a consultant physician in the course of the examination by the Clinic team.

(*c*) *Family, Social Background and Family Development*. This sheet was filled in by the Psychiatric Social Workers of the Clinic. It contains data concerning the members of the boy's family and other persons living with him ; his home and economic situation ; migration of the family ; separations of the boy from his parents and home and other traumatic events ; history of physical and mental health of the boy, in particular, data on his birth, infancy and puberty ; maladjustment in the family ; personality of the informants and of the other members of the family ; the history of family attitudes towards the boy ; discipline at home ; general remarks about the boy's personality, his interests, behaviour problem, school, and his main traumatic experiences and handicaps as viewed by the informant (usually the mother of the boy).

This research sheet was rather elaborate and usually required two interviews to fill it in properly. Nevertheless it appeared to provide no more than a *minimum* of information required in a comprehensive clinical research. Without this background of essential information it was feared that any picture of leisure pursuits of the delinquent boys would have been distorted. It would have lacked a sense of proportion and would probably have not only misrepresented the rôle of leisure in the development of delinquent behaviour, but even the leisure pursuits themselves.

The above sheet is not at present in use at the Portman Clinic. It has served its purpose, however, not only for the present investigation but also

[2] I am indebted to Dr. S. C. Lewsen for his collaboration in the construction of this sheet.

for some modifications in clinical practice and in providing a technique which can be used in future researches if funds allow the formation of a special research team.

(*d*) *Personality as Assessed by the Parents.* This form [3] was filled in by a Psychiatric Social Worker according to the information gained from the boy's guardians, usually his mother. If possible, when two relatives were interviewed, two forms were filled in and any discrepancies noted.

The form consisted of seventeen groups of statements. They dealt with social contacts and friendships, conflicts and ways of resolving them, impulses and their control, attitudes to authority, parents and peers, behaviour during games and play, reactions to frustration and to criticism, initiative, ambitions, and fantasy life. The following statements may serve as an example :

(14) P. often roams aimlessly around, bored and without much to do
P. does not do so more often than the average boy
P. is never bored and always knows what he wants to do when left to himself

A number of statements in this form were used in other research sheets described below.

(*e*) *Personality as Assessed by the Psychiatrist.* The first part of this research sheet was similar to the sheet described above. It consisted of fourteen groups of statements concerning the following aspects of personality : (1) Inhibitions in general, *i.e.*, checking or restraining of impulses ; (2) and (3) contacts with other people ; (4) general direction of aggression ; (5) reaction to frustration ; (6) reaction to criticism ; (7) emotional excitability (tendency to have frequent or strong emotional reactions) ; (8) personal appearance ; (9) tendency to dramatize ; (10) level of aspiration and related factors ; (11) reliability of character ; (12) anxiety ; (13) day-dreaming ; imagination free of control ; (14) creative and constructive aspects of imagination.

The second part covered twenty-eight categories and consisted of a list of personality traits presented in the following form :

Self-assured Average Timid Don't know

The appropriate assessments were underlined by the psychiatrist. This research sheet was accompanied by a list of definitions to bring in more

[3] I would like to acknowledge my debt to Dr. John Bowlby, of the Tavistock Clinic, for the opportunity to study their research sheets. This form in particular owes a great deal to their experience.

uniformity in the assessments and to clarify doubtful categories. In spite of this precaution, the typological part of this research sheet was found less useful than the first part, referring to 'categories of behaviour'. In clinical practice habits have more power than instructions, and it would require great self-discipline, possible in a research team but rarely found in a clinic setting, to achieve the consistency of classification which would be adequate for research purposes.

(*f*) *Attitudes as Assessed by the Psychiatrist.* In this research sheet the examiner was asked to indicate, by placing a tick in the appropriate cell, whether the boy's attitude to the particular person was essentially that of (*a*) Love and trust. (*b*) Love and fear. (*c*) Hostility and fear. (*d*) Apathy. (*e*) Unconscious hostility, superficial love. (*f*) Unconscious hostility, superficial apathy.

Persons and objects in the questionnaire included the parents and other paternal and maternal figures in the family and outside it, as well as siblings, school and community. In spite of its apparent rigidity and a reduction of complex and subtle attitudes to a few categories, this research sheet was found very useful in practice.

(*g*) *School Report.* This form was sent to the headmaster of the school which the boy was attending at the time of the examination at the Clinic. If the boy had changed his school shortly before that time, the form was sent to his former headmaster as well.

The form covered general information on the boy's educational history and progress, data on his personality and social adjustment (this part of the sheet was devised on the lines of the sheet used for personality assessment by parents), and with specific information on leisure pursuits. This information included essential facts about the existing leisure facilities and the degree to which the boy took advantage of them, as well as statements referring to the boy's attitude to leisure pursuits and to his schoolmates, and the attitudes of his schoolmates to him. The following example shows a group of statements in this area :

(20) He is always readily accepted by other children in their games
He is neither particularly favoured nor discriminated against
He is often left out or rejected by other children ... ...

Space was provided for a discursive history of the boy's behaviour problems and his family background.

Unfortunately this research form was not completed by a number of headmasters who failed to reply to our letters or explained that they could not spare the time to reply in detail. The majority did co-operate, however,

and we have every reason to believe that the information we received was accurate. Very few items, if any, were omitted in the forms which were returned to us. The assessments made by the headmasters of the boys' behaviour at school tended to form consistent personality pictures.

Quite often these personality pictures differed from those obtained from other sources. This is understandable: even if we assume that all assessments reflected real behaviour with the utmost accuracy we must expect differences between various sources of information because different aspects of the boy's personalities reveal themselves in different situations.

(*h*) *Leisure Pursuits as Observed by the Parents.* This research sheet was in the form of a questionnaire but the Psychiatric Social Workers who gathered the information were not, and were not supposed to be, rigid in their approach. The interviews were informal and their aim was to gain as much accurate information as possible, rather than to fill in the questionnaire very neatly. The questionnaire dealt with club activities, leisure activities at home, and any other activities of the boy which were known to his parents.

(*i*) *Leisure Pursuits as Reported by the Boy.* Both the research sheet and the character of the interview were similar to those described in the section above. The questionnaire was, however, much more detailed, as the boy was usually able to report on a greater range of activities than that observed by his parents. In particular the boy was questioned in some detail about his leisure activities at school, his participation in team games, his attitudes to his schoolmates and leaders, to leaders in school life as well as club leaders. His friendships and his feelings of being accepted or rejected at school and in other groups were also investigated.

(*j*) *Leisure Pursuits as Reported by the Club Leader.* This was again a scheme of interview rather than a questionnaire. It was used only in cases in which club attendance was reported by the boy under examination or by other informants. The information supplied by Club Leaders was found extremely useful, but it was limited to the exceptional boys who were active club members. The great majority of the twenty boys under investigation did not attend any club meetings, although all of them belonged to a club at some time or other. Some boys had joined a great number of clubs, but did not attend any except for a few times, and were entirely unknown to the respective Club Leaders. The scheme of interview of Club Leaders was very comprehensive and covered the whole area of social adjustment in the club setting.

(*k*) *Leisure Pursuits and their Function as Assessed by the Psychiatrist.* Compared with the whole range of variations in technique as described in the preceding pages, the method applied in this section was at the extreme

end of flexibility. There was, in fact, no research sheet at all. It was left to the psychiatrist how to explore the problem of leisure pursuits and their function in the total personality.

The only material provided for the psychiatrist was a list of leisure pursuits. As the list was only intended to help and not to guide him, I cannot claim any particular credit for the elaboration of the method of this part of the investigation. The technique was developed by Dr. Denis Carroll, to whom my thanks are due. It can be termed as a partly directed interview. This method cannot be adequately described here, but I shall mention it in more detail below, in the discussion of merits of various techniques of interview.

III. Reliability and Validity of Research Sheets

(*a*) *Introductory Remarks.* The next methodological point to be explored and discussed is that of reliability and validity.

Reliability of any test or other measuring instrument depends on the consistency of measurements made, irrespective of the value of these measurements in assessing whatever needs assessment. Our 'instruments' in the methodological sense were both the research sheets and the techniques of collecting information. For that reason the reliability of our research sheets, of the interviews and of the personality assessments is determined by the consistency with which information from the same source or assessments of the same person in the same situation are entered on the sheets. If two psychiatrists independently interview the boy and the information thus gained or personality assessments made agree, reliability is high. If the same person repeats the interview and gets the same information it is again 'reliability' that is high. The same applies to the consistency with which the assessments agree in spite of slight variations in techniques.

It is a different matter when we compare data from two different sources, (for instance, the boy and his parents); or the assessments made by the psychiatrist on the basis of clinical examination of the boy, with those made by his parents and teachers and based on their own observations in everyday life. The degree to which such data and assessments are similar is called validity.

(*b*) *General Information.* It was not possible in the course of the present investigation to test the reliability and the validity of the General Data Sheet, the Physical and Psychosomatic Sheet nor even of the sheets dealing with family, social background and early development. We have every reason to believe that information entered in the General Data Sheet was generally correct. No inaccuracies of the physical and psychosomatic *examination* were detected in the course of treatment. On the other hand,

even in our small sample the medical *history* of the boys presented serious discrepancies between the version given by the boy to the examining physician, and that given by his mother to the Psychiatric Social Worker. When these discrepancies were important and were checked it appeared that the 'reliability' of the information was equally low: the same mother would say different things to different examiners or would admit that her memory had failed.

Information on family background, social background and early development of the boys had to be accepted as uncertain. In spite of numerous checks used by the Psychiatric Social Workers in their interviews many important details proved to be incorrectly stated. In spite of the efforts to assess to what degree the informants were intellectually and emotionally able to supply reliable data, mistakes were unavoidable. In particular, information given by the mother of the boy about her husband and other relatives was often biased and the bias was not easy to detect. On some occasions information on such important factors as evacuation and separation from the mother was found to be uncertain. In one case the mother of the boy mentioned bombing as the main traumatic experience in his life history; she explicitly denied evacuation of the boy from London. The boy himself denied any history of bombing and stated that he had been evacuated and separated from his mother before the danger arose.

In all such cases home visits arranged in the course of the present enquiry brought important research material. In addition, at least some of them had good direct therapeutic effect. While therapy is beyond the scope of the present study this point should not be overlooked; a discussion on some therapeutic implications of this research has been published in the *American Journal of Psychotherapy*.[4]

(*c*) *Personality Assessments*. In spite of the small size of our sample this problem was *relatively* easier to investigate. The study of the reliability of personality assessments was confined to psychiatric interviews. Validity included assessments by psychiatrists, parents and teachers.

Reliability was measured in two ways.

Firstly, Dr. Denis Carroll and I saw the boy jointly. Dr. Carroll conducted the interview. After the interview we either filled in our research sheets separately and then discussed them, or filled them in jointly, after having discussed every point. Even the first method gave agreement in over 90 per cent. of assessed categories. The discussion led to perfect or almost perfect agreement on all points, including 'behaviour categories', 'typological categories' and attitudes.

[4] Alice E. Buck and T. Grygier: 'A New Attempt in Psychotherapy with Juvenile Delinquents', *Amer. J. Psychother.*, Vol. VI, 1952, pp. 711-724. The Christian names of the cases presented in that paper correspond to the names used here.

The second method of measuring reliability was the comparison of the research sheets filled in by two or more psychiatrists after each of them had interviewed the boy separately. The first assessment was based on interview only. Other assessments were mainly based on subsequent interviews, but the psychiatrists were not, and in practice could not be, kept in ignorance of the clinical material. They were only kept in ignorance of other personality assessments.

In order to measure the *validity* of personality assessments the proportion of agreements between the psychiatrists, the parents and the teachers was calculated on seventeen aspects of personality. It appeared that validity depended to a large extent on the particular personality trait or the aspect of social relationships measured. Even within the same area, for instance contact with peers, validity was low to very low in respect of friendships, but high to very high in respect of hostility and conflicts. The *average validity* in seventeen categories was also calculated. The percentage of agreement between two psychiatrists was found to be 72 per cent., between the psychiatrist and the headmaster of the boy's school 70 per cent., between the psychiatrist and the parents 65 per cent., and between the headmaster and the parents 60 per cent.

It is difficult to interpret these results even if we assume that our measures of reliability and validity are adequate. It appears, however, that the psychiatrists and the headmaster make better assessments: probably as they are less biased and have better standards of comparison they are able to see the boy *in relation* to other boys of the same age group. On the other hand, there is always the possibility that *while the others agree the mother knows her son best*. That possibility, as already pointed out, should not be disregarded, but there were some indications that *usually* the mother of the delinquent boy does not know him best.

We noted in particular that, in the cases in which the assessments made by the parents differed markedly from others, they also differed between themselves (*i.e.*, the father and the mother disagreed), or the same parent gave different opinions when interviewed twice (for instance, one mother stated that her son was ambitious: he 'has ambitions and is able to follow them'; a week later she said that he 'has no ambitions or aspirations at all'). In other cases a definite emotional bias was detected: this bias was operative also in other fields of information, was noted by the Psychiatric Social Worker and the Probation Officer, and corresponded to what we knew from the boy's psychiatric examination and personality tests about the relationship between the parent and the boy.

Whenever the psychiatrist disagreed with the headmaster he usually agreed with the parents: hence validity of psychiatric assessments was higher

than that of the headmaster. There were, however, some exceptions which will be noted below.

Firstly, there is one area in which both the reliability and the validity of assessments are low: it is frustration tolerance, both general (the tendency to emphasize or to minimize frustrations, reaction to frustration by hostility, repression or guilt) and specific (reaction to specific frustrations) which seems fairly difficult to assess accurately. While it may be that some psychiatrists (as well as some parents or teachers) can assess it with a fair degree of accuracy, many cannot do so, and the use of projective techniques may be indicated in all cases in which a more exact answer is required.[5]

On the other hand there are areas in which assessments appear to be relatively easy: craving for attention, reliability and truthfulness (this is rather surprising and more research is needed to confirm our finding) and some contacts with people belong to this category. It must be said, however, that hostility, aggression and conflicts are much easier to assess than the ability to develop friendly contacts. This finding corresponds to the results of a recent sociometric study by John Croft and the present writer [6] who found unfavourable sociometric scores—in particular, high rejection scores —to be more reliable, more valid and less affected by the lapse of time than are favourable sociometric scores based on preferences and friendships.

The third pattern to be distinguished is that of high reliability and low validity: the psychiatrists agree between themselves about the boy's tidy or untidy appearance but their validity is low because he comes to the clinic dressed up; they agree about the boy's reaction to criticism, level of aspiration and various aspects of imagination, but their validity is low because other observers tend to make their assessments at a different personality level. This difference between various levels of personality was particularly noticeable with regard to reaction to criticism: the psychiatrists tended to examine the boy's *emotional reactions* whether conscious or unconscious, while the parents and teachers appeared to pay more attention to the *behaviouristic* result of their admonitions: if there was no improvement and no visible and audible emotional outburst some (by no means all) of them would conclude that there was no reaction.

The fourth pattern is high reliability and high validity of psychiatric assessments but low percentage of agreement between the parents and the

[5] The present writer used the Thematic Apperception Test and Rosenzweig's Picture Frustration Study; he found them extremely valuable in criminological research in general and for problems of reactions to frustration in particular. *See* Tadeusz Grygier: 'Oppression: A Study in Social and Criminal Psychology'. *Internat. Libr. of Sociol. and Soc. Reconstr.*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1954.

[6] I. J. Croft and T. G. Grygier: 'The Social Relationships of Truants and Juvenile Delinquents'. In preparation.

teachers. In all these areas the psychiatrists appeared to make more general judgments, while parents' and teachers' observations were limited to specific situations in the family circle and at school. For that reason the psychiatrists were probably striking the right balance between, for instance, the boy's attitude toward his younger siblings and that toward his school mates.

The limited scope of this research did not allow for any far-reaching conclusions with respect to reliability and validity of personality assessments. The evidence summarized above can be taken only as one more stimulus to further study of this important problem.

(*d*) *Leisure Pursuits.* (i) *Reliability.*—It was impracticable in this pilot research to measure the reliability of information on leisure pursuits in terms of a reliability coefficient. The material collected offers, nevertheless, many points for discussion and poses practical questions which require closer attention than they have received so far in the many enquiries into the problem of leisure.

The first methodological point was the reliability of the answers to direct questions. This problem is important because so many studies of leisure pursuits are based on questionnaires, and these usually contain only direct questions and direct answers to them. In our study we found answers to direct questions, if taken at their face value, not only unreliable but also very misleading.

Thus *Edward* when interviewed by the psychiatrist stated that he often goes to the baths to swim and that he likes swimming; but when asked in more detail he admitted that he cannot swim at all, that he went to the baths and tried to learn swimming a year ago but he has not been there since. Similarly *John* reported fishing and swimming as the main leisure pursuits; but in the same interview he admitted that he would only try to learn swimming next summer. His 'fishing' was no fishing at all but sitting still and watching the fish in the aquarium.

The *parents* of our delinquents were not more accurate in their data than the boys themselves. Thus *Cyril's* father said he knew of no clubs or other organizations for boys in the neighbourhood; in fact, he himself had already made some arrangements for the boy to join one of them. *Urban's* mother reported as his hobbies 'spasmodic interest in Meccano, other engineering toys, woodwork'. Only at the very end of the interview, when discussing the boy's future work, did she mention his interest in farming and the fact that he spent most of his spare time gardening.

It would not be practicable to reproduce here more examples of low reliability of information on leisure pursuits. It should be mentioned, however, that it is particularly low when answers to direct questions are taken at their face value. It can be improved if we go on probing and checking.

and if we treat the interview as an organized whole rather than as a sum of questions and answers.

In the light of our research the value of information obtained by the questionnaire method must be regarded as doubtful; in our interview technique the further we moved from the questionnaire method the higher was the reliability. But even when we applied various checks and spent a long time interviewing each boy we could not be certain that our data were not misleading. This applied to negative information even more than to positive data—if an activity was not mentioned we were never sure it did not take place. We had to seek *other* sources of information, even though these were as uncertain as the first one. Usually we found more discrepancies on the way. But that leads us from the study of reliability of the information into the problem of validity, which is a separate question.

(ii) *Validity*. Since validity is in part a function of reliability, our discussion already makes it clear that we could not expect any close agreement between different methods or sources of information on leisure pursuits. It was impracticable to calculate a coefficient of validity, but it was very clear that validity was low to a bewildering degree. We could not be sure, without a great deal of effort and expense, about almost any aspect of leisure of our delinquent boys. On the other hand, the striking discrepancies between the data supplied by different informants gave rich and revealing material regarding the attitudes and bias involved. For that reason, instead of measuring precisely the *degree* to which data obtained by different methods or from different sources were consistent, I attempted to discover the *patterns* and psychological significance of their inconsistencies. Instead of despairing because it is so difficult to find out the truth about leisure pursuits, I concentrated my efforts on finding something positive in all negative findings. The following extract from Table II [7] will serve as an example.

We cannot learn from the Table below to what extent the boys mentioned in this section spend their time outdoors and to what extent they spend it indoors, but we can see very clearly that the boys state as facts something they would *like* to do—to be outdoors; their parents on the other hand, in particular their mothers, would like to see them at home (or they think it would be more expedient to say they stay at home), so they present information which is probably half-truth, half-wish. This pattern is followed exactly by the first three cases quoted in section B. The fourth of these cases brings another variation on the same theme: here the boy and his parents agree on facts, but they disagree on motivation. The boy reveals quite clearly that his outdoor activities are an escape mechanism. The

[7] To be reproduced in full in a forthcoming monograph.

TABLE II

LEISURE PURSUITS AS REPORTED IN DIFFERENT INTERVIEWS

Boy–Psychologist	*Boy–Psychiatrist*	*Parents–P.S.W.*
B.		
In good weather usually outside home—in parks or garden.	Likes all outdoor games.	Likes to stay at home even in good weather.
In good weather plays in the street.	Even in good weather dislikes outdoor games; likes cinema or visiting friends to watch television or to play cards.	Even in good weather does not like going out; stays at home reading or helping the mother.
In good weather goes out with a book.	Likes going out and playing football.	Stays at home even in good weather.
Never wants to be at home: 'If you are at home Dad's always at you. Have you had a wash? Cleared your books? Tidied your things?' Jealousy of brother not apparent at the interview.	Leisure pursuits not investigated. Psychiatrist's opinion: signs of emotional stress; deep hostility towards the father—superficially probably shows affection; jealous of his younger brother.	Likes being out of doors. Always cheerful and obedient, trusting both parents and never holding grudge when hit by father. Father favours the boy, mother favours his younger brother; boy shows no jealousy.

psychiatrist, without having investigated the boy's leisure pursuits comes to the right conclusions about the general character of family situation and assesses correctly the boy's real attitudes, as well as his mask. The parents prefer to stay blind. They have enough sense of reality to see that the boy is always out, but they ascribe that fact to the motives which are satisfying their self-love and self-respect. They realize that they are not impartial in relation to their children but cannot see to what extent their attitude is resented. Incidentally, in this case all other observers confirmed in full the assessments made by the psychiatrist on the basis of a single interview.

The pattern of discrepancies between different sources of information on *cinema attendance* reveals the same mixture of truth and fantasy. The boys state their likes. They deny that they often go to the cinema because they have nothing better to do. They do not expect the investigators to approve of frequent and indiscriminate cinema attendance. So the information is biased in favour of wishes, at the expense of facts.

The parents are probably no more accurate. Some of them may be deceived by their children. Some may accept the cinema as a lesser evil than rough play or mischief, and although they realize that the boys do not always go where they are supposed to, they prefer to accept their state-

ments and present them as facts to all those in a position of authority. Moreover, in our sample there was not one parent who was able to state the interests of his or her son in respect of films[8]; to the parents all films were alike and they seemed not to care what their children really liked.

The result of all these factors was a stress on special interests and on low frequency on the part of the boys, and a stress on regularity and high frequency on the part of their parents. In the whole sample the frequency of attendance as stated by the parents exceeded several times the frequency of attendance as stated by the boys themselves.[9]

With reference to *undesirable activities* the discrepancies showed that some information on them can be more readily obtained in an oblique type of interview with the boy. It is less frequently available in direct questioning of the boy, and much less frequently in questioning the parents.

On *desirable activities* the pattern is different. Here the boy expects approval when, in reply to direct questioning, he confirms what he thinks the investigator would like to hear. When questioned obliquely,[10] he is less certain what the investigator really wants. In addition, the investigator makes his own guesses, taking into account the whole personality of the boy, his tone of voice and his general pattern of leisure activities. The result is a more realistic estimate of the boy's interests and activities, an estimate which is confirmed by the boy's parents and by other observers like headmasters and Club Leaders. It is worth noting here that the number of friends stated in direct interviewing appears to have no relation to reality: most boys state they have many friends, but careful interviewing and projective tests are able to detect isolation, rejection and lack of social ties whenever these are reported by impartial observers.

With reference to *club membership* two patterns of discrepancies were revealed. On the one hand the boys tended to report membership of various clubs when in fact they attended no meetings. On the other hand the parents tended to deny all knowledge of club facilities or at least the possibility of any action. This discrepancy between their statements and facts (and those we know not only from the boy but from other informants as well) suggests a lack of interest in the problem of leisure and a disinclination to take any action in this field. Our sample is admittedly small, but this trend was not

[8] A special point was made to elucidate that question in all interviews with parents.

[9] For instance *Thomas,* not quoted in Table II, stated he attended the cinema approximately once a week ; according to his mother he attended regularly every day.

[10] Oblique questioning was generally used by Dr. Carroll, on occasion by some other psychiatrists ; I have tried that method (labelled here, perhaps inaccurately, psychiatric) with similar results. On the other hand, both I and some psychiatrists used direct methods with results similar to those obtained by the psychologists. The term ' psychiatric ' refers to the method used in the interview and not to the status of the interviewer.

only typical of the attitude of some 40 parents of the boys who were fully or partly investigated in the course of this research, but also of the majority of parents of the young delinquents treated at the Portman Clinic (I.S.T.D.). This finding, which goes beyond methodology and may be regarded as factual, suggests that there is an association between juvenile delinquency and a lack of interest shown by the parents in the leisure pursuits of their children. It may well be that the attitude of the parent towards problems of leisure does not, by itself, produce juvenile delinquents. It is more probable that it is only one of the numerous attitudes the whole cluster of which have detrimental effect. That we do not know, and we can merely note the facts and suggest a line of useful enquiry for the future, with the use of a proper control group.

Any *negative findings* showed a very low validity indeed. Leisure activities or facilities not reported can never be safely assumed as non-existent.

To *sum up* the conclusions about validity of our methods of enquiry into leisure pursuits we must make an important distinction. If we follow the usual practice and define validity operationally as the degree to which data obtained by different methods or from different sources were consistent, our validity was very low. But if we disregard details and look at leisure pursuits as a part of an interaction between the individual and his environment, between his needs and his deprivations or satisfactions, our methods were able to reveal much more than we had anticipated. In our material actual facilities or activities of leisure did not matter so much as the attitudes to them. And exactly the same inconsistencies which undermined the value of our factual information were most enlightening in respect of attitudes. The amount of distortion of information varied according to the motives of the informants, in particular according to the degree to which the facilities or activities concerned were both subjectively desirable and regarded, whether rightly or wrongly, as appropriate. But in each case any distortion of information had these two aspects: negative, as an obstacle to finding out facts, and positive, as a vehicle of enquiry into attitudes.

With regard to the particular methods used in our pilot study we may note that the more *rigid type of interview* seems to increase the reliability of negative findings: if we follow the questionnaire exactly and a leisure activity is not mentioned, we at least know that it is denied. On the other hand this method lowers the validity of positive findings: if an activity is mentioned it does not follow that it is in fact pursued. It also throws little light on the function of any interests and activities within the total personality.

By contrast, the *indirect method* is never exhaustive, but validity of positive findings is relatively higher. The psychiatrist's assessments were con-

sistently in agreement with the majority of observers, although he often disagreed with the boy's own statements.

As we can see, the methods, as well as the informants, distort factual data in various ways and in different directions. If we have to apply one method only it is indispensable to know its assets and limitations. If we can, we should combine several methods, always adjusting them to the purpose of the enquiry and the character of the groups to be studied.

IV. Leisure Pursuits and their Role in Diagnosis, Therapy and Vocational Guidance

In discussing the validity of various methods of interview I have mentioned the limitations of the direct approach. From the point of view of therapy, the limitations of this method appear to be even more striking. Treated in isolation and investigated by direct questioning, leisure pursuits as reported by the boy gave us little or no insight into his personality and emotional problems. In our sample we had a number of very disturbed boys who reported perfectly normal leisure pursuits when interrogated directly: their questionnaires recorded club membership, various hobbies and interests, swimming, fishing and gardening, a variety of games and, in bad weather, reading at home, listening to the wireless and watching television. One could not guess from these reports that these boys were in any way abnormal and anti-social.

By contrast, leisure pursuits regarded as an object of a psychological investigation threw a great deal of light on these boys' personalities, their attitudes to the members of their families, to their teachers and school mates, and to society in general. But then it is not the 'report on facts that matters. The boy's gestures, his expression, his tone of voice, his inclination to embark upon a subject or to drop it as soon as possible, his rationalizations about the motives of the members of his family who share, or do not share, his interests and hobbies—all this gives very rich material obtained without the tensions accompanying an orthodox psychiatric interview. It is in this way that leisure pursuits were investigated by Dr. Carroll. This approach, which we may term 'functional' as it views leisure pursuits mainly in terms of their function, was in our view the best method of investigation we explored in our study. It is a difficult method, requiring both skill and training, but it is not so specialized as to require the services of a psychiatrist. Trained psychologists can use it as well, and, at least partly, used it in the course of the present research.

In *therapy* the proper evaluation of the functions of various leisure pursuits was of primary importance. On occasion we found that perfectly prosaic tasks, like peeling potatoes or cleaning the windows, were regarded

as leisure pursuits by the boys owing to the accompanying phantasies which they evoked. On the other hand, club membership was, in some cases, a duty rather than a pleasure. The proper understanding of the function of various activities was helpful not only in reorganizing leisure activities of the boys in our sample on therapeutic lines, but also in finding new and constructive meaning in the existing leisure pursuits.

In *vocational guidance* the study of leisure pursuits proved, within our sample, just as important as a battery of intelligence and aptitude tests. While the tests are able to tell what an individual *can* do, only a total personality appraisal will show in what occupation he will achieve satisfactory adjustment. Existing, or even past, leisure pursuits may play in this respect the function of projective tests in psychological diagnosis—the individual 'projects' into his leisure pursuits his personality, his interests, his ambitions.

The direct method of questioning about vocational interests had limited value in our sample. Most boys finishing school in the course of treatment at the Portman Clinic had very vague ideas on what they were going to do either in the immediate future or later in life. In all such cases not a questionnaire on leisure pursuits, but a realistic appraisal of their significance and function was invaluable.

V. Summary of Conclusions

(1) There is a vast literature on leisure pursuits of juvenile delinquents and on their relation to the causation and prevention of crime. In spite of this, our knowledge in this field is very limited. The amount of evidence collected is great, but its reliability is very uncertain. Conclusions and armchair speculations occupy more space in most writings than the description of the methods by which the information was gained.

(2) The greatest need is not for more information, but for more reliable information.

(3) Leisure pursuits cannot be investigated in isolation. A proper understanding of their function requires a great deal of background information about the physical and mental make-up of each boy, and about his family and social relationships.

(4) Home visits form an important part of clinical research. In addition to providing relatively valid data, they often have positive therapeutic effect.

(5) It appears that validity of personality assessments made by experienced clinicians is relatively high; teachers make slightly less valid assessments; the assessments made by the parents of the delinquent boys are least valid.

(6) Validity of personality assessments depends to a large extent on the skill and experience of the examiner and on the particular personality trait and the level of personality (conscious, subconscious or unconscious) to be assessed. It appears that unfavourable traits are relatively easier to measure. Some aspects of personality which are difficult to examine in interviews can be better measured by personality tests ; this applies in particular to the type of reaction to frustration.

(7) In the area under investigation reliability and validity of answers to direct questioning are very low. This finding throws serious doubts on the value of evidence on leisure pursuits collected by questionnaires.

(8) Discrepancies between different sources of information on leisure pursuits can be utilized to throw light on the psychological significance of various activities and on the attitudes and social relationships of the informants.

(9) Oblique questioning increases the validity of information on leisure pursuits, in particular with respect to undesirable activities, but not with respect to negative findings.

(10) All negative findings have very low validity. Leisure activities or facilities not reported can never be safely assumed as non-existent.

(11) The data of this research suggest that the parents of the delinquent boys show little or no interest in their leisure pursuits and tend to deny the existence of leisure facilities and clubs.

(12) Leisure pursuits can be regarded as a part of an interaction between the individual and his environment, between his needs and his deprivations or satisfactions. Treated in this way and investigated jointly with a number of social and personality factors, leisure pursuits can be used as a help in diagnosis, thearpy and vocational guidance.

(13) All methods of enquiry have their drawbacks and tend to distort factual data in some way. The best method appears to be to study the leisure pursuits by oblique questioning and to assess them in terms of their function within the total personality. If possible, several methods should be combined, which is possible only in a properly organized team.

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

(*Continued from Vol. V. p.* 137)

CURRENT RESEARCH. XLI. THE USE OF ŒSTROGENS FOR SEXUAL OFFENDERS AND SOME RELEVANT PSYCHO-PATHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital, or other Institution or private person supplying the information:*

Dr. D. Rumney, Senior Psychiatric Registrar, Portman Clinic.

(2) *Subject of Research:*

The Research is designed to test the claims regarding the effect of Œstrogens in diminishing sexual desire in male sexual offenders: and to determine how far such effects as are produced are due to the action of the drug and how far to the general therapeutic framework within which they are administered.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?*

The research is undertaken under the guidance of Dr. Denis Carroll, Consultant Psychiatrist, Portman Clinic. *Research Worker:* Dr. D. Rumney.

(4) *Started:* 1952.

(5) *Publication:* No results so far published.

CURRENT RESEARCH. XLII. CRUELTY TO CHILDREN.

(1) The Howard League for Penal Reform, London.

(2) The research is into the personality of people imprisoned for cruelty to children where the Prison Commissioners have ascertained that gross physical cruelty has been inflicted.

(3) The Howard League and I.S.T.D. *Research Worker:* Dr. T. C. N. Gibbens.

(4) June, 1953.

(5) No results so far published.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

THE REPORT OF THE PRISON COMMISSIONERS, 1953

With every year of publication, the Report of the Commissioners of Prisons for England and Wales becomes richer in content and broader in scope. Compared with the meagre custodial record provided by some other countries, with its dry and unsatisfactory skeleton which leaves one guessing about the patient's mental and physical health, his response to the three or four simple prescriptions of the law, and his subsequent condition, here is meat, and muscle, and nerve, here is a rough case history, yes, and even some indication of the physician's attitude.

The latest Report, for the year 1953, brings us, for example, an excellent analysis by the psychologist at Durham prison of women imprisoned for child neglect, just as in a previous year we had an analysis of Corrective Trainees. In this way, a picture is painted of various categories of prisoners, of their personality,

traits and capacities, and of their family and social background. And as usual, the Report contains descriptions of trends in Borstal and prison populations, and of difficulties or improvements in training facilities and techniques. There is a particularly valuable chapter on psychiatric work which contains a description by Dr. Landers of the building of a therapeutic community in the New Ward of the Hospital at Wormwood Scrubs where, incidentally, inmates are now being encouraged to perform psychodramas. Last but not least, there are the appendices, containing reports by individual Governors, Chaplains, and Medical Officers. Anyone prepared to read carefully between the lines will find out a good deal, not only about prisoners and Borstal inmates, but about the writers themselves. It speaks much for the wisdom and tolerance of the Commissioners to allow a diversity of views and attitudes, such as is expressed in these appendices, to be published in their Annual Report.

In trying to consider this Report with a fresh mind, one is immediately struck with the terrible handicaps which beset our prison system. The Commissioners quite rightly say that our closed Borstal Institutions are too large: ' Three hundred boys with good records and potential may perhaps be welded into a positive, progressive community; three hundred boys with bad records . . . are too many, especially when the houses contain 70 to 80.' In fact, out of a total number of 20 Borstals, 4 have a daily average population of over 300; 9 usually house between 100 and 200. But out of a total number of 29 local prisons, *none* (with the exception of Lewes which is for Young Prisoners) have a daily average population of less than 200; 18 usually house more than 300, and of these, 3 house more than 400, 2 more than 500, 4 more than 600, 2 more than 700, 1 more than 900, 2 more than 1,000, and 1 more than 1,500. Admittedly, local prisons contain a high proportion of short-term prisoners and cannot be compared to Borstals. Nevertheless, the general public tends to forget what a problem in smooth communications and effective management these large institutions pose. In this respect, the sheer weight of numbers is probably a greater difficulty than the physical overcrowding which at present forces the authorities to put 4,500 men three to a cell.

Mention of the word management brings to mind certain other difficulties which are not fully understood and cannot therefore be adequately tackled yet. This much, however, is known: Tensions which would repay close study exist between Governors and the Prison Commission; between discipline staff and Governors; and, of course, between prisoners and prison officers. These tensions are in part due to the social role in which the various participants in the drama of imprisonment are cast; and this in turn partly depends on their status, as they themselves see it, and as they believe those around them, as well as the public in general, the in-group and the out-group in its widest sense, view the matter. Status is linked with function, and both are influenced by organizational structure. The importance of such questions is gradually being recognized in industry, though unfortunately often only in connection with productivity, and not with wider questions of human satisfactions. They need to be studied with particular care where the object of the organization is, not the manufacture of materials, but the treatment and training of difficult human beings.

Many modern business concerns now accept the cardinal principle that the art and science of management is first and foremost concerned with human relations. The technical know-how, the financial short-cut, the administrative

' gimmicks ' can be supplied by experts. It is true that their implication must be considered by management, for there is no clear dividing line between administrative problems and questions of human relations. But what can be delegated and decentralized, is done, which, incidentally, helps to build a broader, more democratic structure. And if *man* is made the measure, instead of just efficiency, or economy, or output, it is surprising how efficiency, economy, and output look after themselves. It is difficult for anyone who is not a member of it, to level a charge of overcentralization against the Prison Service. Perhaps the impression one gains from observation, and from casual remarks made here and there, of a certain administrative rigidity, of an over-insistence on uniformity, is misleading. But it is fair comment to suggest that nothing should be left undone to ensure that Governors enjoy maximum responsibilities, and that prisons are encouraged to develop personalities of their own, a process which might eventually lead to the extension of classification. In turn, Governors who, incidentally, ought to be freed from the endless routine of writing reports and returns (there is a good case for some special personal assistant who could do much of this work), ought to delegate to others, all the way down. One knows of Governors who, though brilliantly intuitive in their understanding and handling of prisoners, are so individualistic, so dominant, that other members of the staff are completely overshadowed. It must be admitted that such fireworks do produce some excellent results, but they are still bad management. Teamwork is the essence of gubernatorial wisdom, co-operation with Medical Officers, Chaplains, Assistant Governors, and a willingness to allow subordinate staff to assume as much responsibility as they can manage.

Considering that institutional training is a much thornier problem than training in freedom, it is odd that for years special training for probation officers has been accepted as a matter of course, whereas the training of Assistant Governors is still in its infancy. It may be said that an Assistant Governor learns his profession by practising it. So does a doctor and a lawyer, but they are not let loose on their unsuspecting clients until after they have completed a lengthy course of instruction. In industry, too, the need for specialized training is gradually being recognized, and that is the reason why such bodies as the British Institute of Management have come into being. But the running of prisons and Borstals is still regarded as a comparatively unskilled occupation. Great care is taken, and rightly so, over initial selection. One cannot really hope to find a better or more suitable body of people than our Governors and Assistant Governors. And it is quite true that personality and flair will do much. But they will not do everything.

Not that we can expect miraculous results from training in prisons. And if the courts sent only those to prison who really need institutional treatment, the results might well be more discouraging. Perhaps the greatest single difficulty in training is connected with work. It is not only that the majority of our prisons suffer from an acute shortage of work; it is not only that much of what work is available is monotonous and uninspiring; it is not only that the 3s. or 4s. a week which is paid to prisoners is not exactly a shining symbol of the value which we put on honest labour; even if all these things were remedied, a major training problem would remain, for many prisoners are workshy. And workshyness is not cured by the mere provision of work.

For most people, to work is not merely an economic necessity but a basic human need. It is through his work that man contributes to the ends of his society.

Work confers status and a sense of belonging. That is why those who cannot work through age, infirmity or unemployment often feel so sadly unwanted. Work implies co-operation, and co-operation brings social cohesion. Man is, in fact, a social being: most prisoners are anti-social. That is why training for work must form the very basis of any effective prison regime, and even on a superficial level, everything should be designed to demonstrate the value of work. Unfortunately, much seems designed at present to demonstrate the opposite. Cigarettes are still the hard currency of prison, and the way to get things is not by working, but by getting into a position of privilege, in the stores, the kitchen, or the library, where one is in touch with the commodities that really matter in the economy of a penal institution.

First things must come first, however. It is impossible to comment on the Report of the Prison Commission without reiterating that little progress can be made without public co-operation. If there is too little work, too little money for training staff, unsatisfactory accommodation, in the end it is the public which is responsible.

HUGH J. KLARE.

CRITICAL NOTICE

FIVE HUNDRED BORSTAL BOYS. By A. G. Rose. (Oxford: Blackwell. 1954. Pp. vii + 200. 21s.)

This book reports the results of a follow-up study of 472 Borstal boys released on licence between 1941 and 1944. The first chapter provides a short review of American and other work in the field of criminological prediction and follow-up studies, and this is supported by a selected bibliography at the end of the book. The third chapter provides an interesting and effectively condensed account of Borstal in wartime, with outlines of the treatment in which the separate Borstals specialized and a description of their facilities. In this part of the book the coverage of the official case papers is noted.

In the latter part of the book, Rose presents and discusses the data he obtained from the official case papers and other sources. The data presented are arranged to be as comparable as possible with Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck's ' 500 Criminal Careers ', although no attempt has been made to derive prediction tables by the Gluecks' or other methods. It is interesting to note that the factors which the Gluecks found to be significantly associated with subsequent success or failure in the U.S.A. some thirty years ago are now found to be significant also for Borstal boys in this country. The demonstration of such stability of predisposing factors is useful ground upon which research may be built. In general, however, the degree of association is lower, as the following examples show:

'500 *Criminal Careers*'	*C*	'*Five Hundred Borstal Boys*'	*C*
Industrial habits . .	0·42	Work habits . . .	0·29
Seriousness of crime . .	0·36	Degree of criminality . .	0·22
Offences in reformatory .	0·33	Conduct in training . .	0·27

The author attributes the lower values of his coefficients to the fact that 'evidence in the Glueck study was far better'. This is, perhaps, undue modesty. The more likely reason is that the Borstal population is a more highly selected population (in the statistical meaning of the term!). Borstal boys are more like each other (indeed, very much is done by the administration to ensure this) than were the reformatory cases studied by the Gluecks. If then the recommendation and screening procedures have had any effect, we should expect the coefficients to be smaller for the more homogeneous population. The value of the data may not have anything to do with it.

In the presentation of these data in parallel with the American studies this book has performed a very useful service. But it is regrettable that thirty years after the Gluecks we see no progress in the methodology.

The dust-cover claims that this book 'is a pioneer study using an up-to-date version of the statistical methods employed in the major American projects'. This initial claim to up-to-date statistical methods is in strange contrast with the opening phrases of the seventh chapter, viz., 'Statistical methods of social research are always something of a makeshift.' This phrase is not understood. Does the author mean that statistical *models* do not match with social problems? Statistical methods are precise, definable and mathematical; there is nothing makeshift about the *methods*. The author seems to be in some difficulty in other places where he deals with statistics. For example, he requires that 'other possible variables are constant' and that this should be a feature of the research design before any factor may be appraised. Does he, therefore, reject covariance methods? In agriculture it is quite impossible to vary one thing at a time (the weather cannot be controlled!), yet this does not prevent the use of valid modern statistical methods. Again, on page 23 reference is made to the value of 'P' rising to *less than* 0·8, 'which,' comments the author, 'is certainly significant.' This seems to mean 'P' rises to *greater than* 0·8 which is certainly *not* significant. It is the nul-hypotheses which is being tested. But despite the dust-cover, statistical methods are relatively unimportant; they are tools and we must examine the structure which our author has essayed to build.

Your reviewer has four criteria by which he seeks to evaluate any piece of research, namely (1) reliability—reproducibility; (2) validity and power; (3) efficiency; (4) simplicity. It is clear that Mr. Rose's work is not repeatable by others, indeed he directly rejects the idea of repeatability. He remarks: 'The assessments were *guided* by the following definitions, *but these were not regarded as rigid categories*' [*sic*]. He prefers subjective judgments (essentially unrepeatable) to objective information; indeed (p. 108), he states that facts are 'largely meaningless' unless 'we follow up by making assumptions' about what they mean in terms of behaviour. His line of thought seems to be dominated by the concept of 'causes' which was current in some quarters before quantum theory. As he remarks elsewhere, 'one does not want to categorize cases in terms of events or actions but in terms of . . . causes of actions'. He claims that every classification conceals causes. This idea does not agree with the modern philosophy of

science, and indeed such a concept does not fit in with statistical methods at all. The author does not seem to realize that in importing statistical methods he is essentially also importing a philosophy of science, which none-the-less he rejects. It is, therefore, no surprise that he really rejects statistics, whilst, however, he relies upon them for their evidence about his data!

On the point of validity and efficiency two parts of the book may be considered, namely those dealing with a system of personality typing and an index of progress in training. In the latter case full credit must be given to the author for an original idea of potential development. For the former he derives a C value of 0·36 with the criterion of success or failure. This is a good result, but we do not know whether it could be repeated and hence cannot say anything about validity which might or might not be likely. It is regretted that the author did not see fit to describe in detail his methods in making these and other subjective judgments. How, for example, did he guard against unconscious bias and prevent his assessments of one factor from being influenced by others—the well-known 'halo-effect'? And how did he deal with the problem of translating narrative reports into data?

The index of progress, a good idea, is not worked out unless we are prepared to make assumptions about the 'absolute' rather than the comparative value of subjective judgments. Can there be an absolute standard for 'good', 'fair' and 'bad', irrespective of the subject matter to which they are referred? If we reject this idea, we must also reject the quantification of the idea in Rose's index of progress. Unfortunately he bases some quite definite statements upon his results from this index. He says that 'the final improvement for work is rather better than for conduct.' But this assumes that the initial test for conduct was as difficult as the final test, and that the difficulty of the test for conduct was the same as for work. How can we know this except by comparative evidence against other populations? Could the author assess the comparative difficulty of a test in algebra and a test in English and equate them without standardizing against population norms? Surely one can only assess the difficulty of a paper in algebra by reference to the proportion of the normal population who could answer a specified proportion of the questions? If an *absolute* standard in algebra cannot be derived but only a comparative one, how can we hope to assess 'conduct' and 'work record' without comparisons?

Professor Adrian in his presidential address to the British Association in 1954 asked the rhetorical question: 'Why are we so reluctant to think well of it (social science)?' and replied: 'We are not yet convinced that the kind of observations that the social scientist can make will be sufficiently objective and sufficiently precise.' Perhaps Mr. Rose is right in openly rejecting objectivity and precision but your reviewer does not think so.

LESLIE T. WILKINS.

REVIEWS

THE MENTALLY SUBNORMAL CHILD: Report of a Joint Expert Committee. (Geneva: World Health Organization. 1954. 1s. 9d.)

This Report summarizes the views of an International Expert Committee convened by the World Health Organization (with the participation of the United Nations, I.L.O., and U.N.E.S.C.O.) to consider the problem of mental subnormality in children. After a brief introduction the writers discuss in some detail the most appropriate classification, terminology, and definition. They recommend that the phrase 'mental subnormality' should be used as a generic term 'to describe the mentally retarded on the one hand and the mentally defective and dull on the other'. 'Those who have normal intellectual abilities, but incomplete or distorted emotional development which leads them into conflict with the law', should (it is suggested) be termed 'antisocial persons with psychopathic personalities' and 'not be equated with the mentally subnormal'. The 'retarded' are defined as 'those whose educational and social performance is markedly lower than would be expected from their intellectual abilities'. 'Mental defect' is used to describe 'conditions in which diminished mental capacity is the result of pathological causes'.

In accordance with the current classification it is agreed that three main degrees should be recognized; but, instead of the current labels, which vary from one country to another, the writers recommend the terms 'mild', 'moderate', and 'severe', which (as their table shows) are intended to correspond with the terms 'feebleminded', 'imbecile', and 'idiot' as used in this country. As the upper borderline an earlier W.H.O. Report (1948) proposed a mental age of 12 — a suggestion which, as was shown a quarter of a century ago, would imply that 12 to 15 per cent. of the population were certifiable as mental defectives. The present Report recognizes that the figure was too high, and now proposes a mental age of 10 for adults and an I.Q. of 70 per cent. for children.

But such a borderline would plainly exclude all cases of mere innate 'dullness' and of mere educational backwardness, which, in the Committee's original definition, were expressly included in the term 'subnormal'. It is also inconsistent with the figures which they quote for 'English educational practice'; this, as they say, 'aims to make provisions in special schools for 1 per cent., and for a further 8 or 9 per cent. in the ordinary school system'. Since this opening section supplies the basis for all that follows, it is unfortunate that the reader should thus be left in doubt whether the Committee is concerned primarily with the 1 or 2 per cent. who would formerly have been called 'defective', or with the far larger group that are designated (in the language of the recent Education Act) 'educationally subnormal'.

The remainder of the Report deals with the relevant legal considerations, the services at present available, the training of the necessary personnel, and the education of parents and of the general public. These sections unquestionably furnish a useful and an excellent survey of what is being done in various countries. The whole concludes with an outline of further developments that are still urgently needed and an appeal to governments to provide more adequate assistance and to co-ordinate existing services.

SIR CYRIL BURT.

CRIME AND THE SERVICES. By John Spencer. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1954. Pp. 306. 28s.)

This book contains a highly interesting study of an important contemporary social problem; namely, the effect on criminal behaviour of service in the Armed Forces. Popular theory in this matter, frequently current amongst the hard-headed and matter-of-fact people who profess to distrust ' psychology ' and believe in the value of ' treating them rough ', particularly when young, is that life in the Forces provides a series of opportunities for high-spirited and lawless youth to discharge its energies in praiseworthy ways, and therefore may be expected to bring the young delinquent to heel, and to turn him first of all into a disciplined soldier, and then into a self-respecting citizen. Conversely, other amateur sociologists argue that it is the experiences of military service that lie behind the post-war boom in crime. But Dr. Spencer doubts whether either of these phenomena is really genuine, and has, indeed, some novel and important thoughts to express on the matter.

In his view, studies he has carried out amongst ex-Service inmates of Dartmoor and Maidstone Prisons, and Sherwood Borstal, force the conclusion on us that the experiences which the men concerned had had in the Forces did not influence their lives one way or the other so far as their criminal propensities were concerned. Whilst, on the one hand, the Army was found to have been unable to remedy emotional deficiencies in many young soldiers, on the other hand a study of the records of two hundred ex-Service convicts strengthened the ' general conclusion that the criminal is just as likely to get re-convicted in the Services as in the civil field '. The offender, Dr. Spencer is convinced, ' remains a criminal whether inside or outside the Services. . . . Neither enlistment in, nor discharge from, the Services are in themselves an antidote to delinquency.'

Conversely, the Services cannot be regarded as exerting a criminogenic influence over their members. There is nothing in the nature of military training *per se* which was found by Dr. Spencer to encourage criminal behaviour. But, it is important to note, the secondary aspects of Service life, such as separation from the family, interruptions in the working life of young men, and perhaps above all the boredom and inactivity that members of the Forces have to face for lengthy periods during their periods of service, increase the difficulties and the strains that have to be overcome or endured, and present individuals with problems which, if they are unable to solve them, may ' trigger-off ' criminal behaviour as a means of escape from stern realities.

The argument presented by Dr. Spencer leads to the obvious conclusion that more should be done to screen entrants to the Forces (particularly the Army) to exclude the unmanageable types of delinquents and to allocate the ' dangerous risks ' to appropriate forms of service and training. The discussion leads us thus far and no further, however, because it must be remembered that his information only relates to offenders who have been convicted during or after military service. How the screening can be done, and what forms of service can be developed, are questions the answers to which are dependent on an investigation of social life in the Forces to show how tendencies towards breakdown are or can be counteracted, which tendencies must be regarded as unmanageable under these conditions, and the means whereby some of them at least can be identified at the intake stage.

Dr. Spencer's study must therefore be regarded as a preliminary reconnaissance of a most important problem. It may not be recognized as such—which would be a great pity, as this is its chief merit—because the work is so loosely put together, and ranges over too many general topics, such as short sentences, birching, the psychopathic personality and prison mutinies. It is also somewhat over-written, in the sense that an attempt to quote all the authors who have carried out recent researches has at times obscured the main run of the argument. It is to be hoped, however, that it will be made the basis of more thorough study carried out in association with the Army authorities at the earliest possible moment. It also needs to be supplemented by a study of the problems of resettlement that every member of the Services has to face on discharge.

T. S. SIMEY.

THE ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE. May 1954. Vol. 293. 'Prisons in Transformation.' Edited by Thorsten Sellin.

The Editor of this issue has divided his subject into three parts, the first a general one on the value or otherwise of imprisonment, the second on future plans and programmes in the United States, and the third on Prison Reform abroad.

In a short review it is impossible to describe, or comment on, articles by no fewer than 17 distinguished authors. If the article entitled 'Resocialization Within Walls' is singled out, it is because its authors, Dr. McCorkle and Mr. Korn, deal with the subject in a quite particularly stimulating manner. The article suggests that the social system of prison inmates is so constructed as to enable the prisoners to avoid the 'devastating psychological effects of internalizing and converting social rejection into self-rejection. In effect, it permits the inmate to reject his rejectors rather than himself.' Those who have most experienced social rejection—habitual prisoners—have also developed the strongest defences against social rejection; it is they who set the tone and there is strong pressure on the relatively non-criminal to conform. This assessment is probably correct for English *local* prisons also, though not for Regional Training prisons which consist of a careful admixture of stars and ordinaries in such a way that it is still the stars who shape inmate opinion.

Similarly, the argument that a measure of inmate self-administration must always prove disastrous requires modification. Where there is opportunity for careful classification and allocation, the authors' basic hypothesis no longer holds good. Experiments in Borstal (*vide* H. Kenyon, 'The concept of shared responsibility in Borstal,' *Howard Journal*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1952) have shown that a considerable measure of self-government is possible, and can prove a useful method of training. Finally, the contention that 'a breakdown of the social distance between the inmate and the keeper must, sooner or later, result in the exploitation of one by the other and the ultimate degradation of one or both', must be challenged. At any rate so far as conditions in this country are concerned, in Regional Training prisons, and above all, of course, in open prisons, prison officers do accept and sustain a personal relationship with prisoners, and this can be one of the most powerful forces in the process of resocialization. It is, therefore, important for readers in this country to remember that some of the assumptions as well as the conclusions of this brilliant and penetrating article apply to conditions in the United States only, where the size of the institutions,

the methods of selecting staff, and other administrative matters pose problems rather different from those which arise in this country.

In his article on prison reform in Sweden, Mr. Torsten Eriksson refers to the setting up of a special youth prison at Roxtuna in which sixty-five inmates between 18 and 20 will be assigned to separate houses with no more than 9 in each. The treatment will be medico-psychological in orientation and the Governor will be a psychiatrist. It is an experiment which will be watched with great interest. There is much in the Swedish penal system which other countries must envy, not least perhaps the institution of *day*-fines which enable the Court to impose the same sentence for a particular offence (say ten days) for rich or for poor. The actual amount of the fine, however, varies with the offender's economic situation.

H. J. KLARE.

THE NATURE OF RESPONSIBILITY. By Morris Ginsberg. (The Thirteenth Clarke Hall Lecture. Published by the Clarke Hall Fellowship, London. 1954. Pp. 31. 2s. 6d.)

This lecture by a very distinguished sociologist is a valuable reminder of the basic philosophical ideas behind the movement for reform of the penal system, though, owing to uncertainties as to the empirical facts, very tentative in its practical conclusions. His complete rejection of the retributive theory of punishment and his doubt whether a spell in prison can have any reformatory value will meet with very wide sympathy, though it may be doubted whether he is justified in being as depreciatory as he is of the deterrent value of punishment. Mere deterrence is, however, a miserable makeshift and involves treating the individual as a mere means, and even if punishments are more effective in that capacity than he thinks, we must certainly share his wish that society should concentrate less and less on punishment and more and more on removing the conditions which lead to crime, and that in the meantime there should be much more ' individualization ' in the treatment of offenders.

On two philosophical points I should definitely join the issue with the author. In the first place I think his account of punishment suffers through ignoring the function of punishment as a way far more emphatic than mere words of telling the offender and others that such and such an action was wrong. This is surely the key to the reformatory influence (if any) that may belong to the actual punishment (as opposed to measures taken for reforming the offender while he is being punished) and to any direct moral influence the penal system may have on society, as well as being, through the disgrace involved, a very potent factor in the deterrent effect on the better of those tempted to crime. Secondly, I should reject his view that a man's beliefs can be regarded as undetermined or that it is necessary for responsibility that they should (p. 9). I do not see how a man's beliefs can fail to be *determined* by the evidence as it appears to him; if they are not, he is not really believing. But this is not to say that they need always be determined by irrational factors. Free will, I should have thought, cannot be exercised in believing, but it can (in any sense in which we possess it at all) be exercised in the preliminaries to belief, especially in the acts of attention by which we concentrate on or avoid concentrating on relevant evidence. But I do not think that this latter point of difference between us is relevant to the lecturer's practical conclusions, although the former may well be so.

A. C. EWING.

OBSERVATIONS OF THE CORRECTIONAL SYSTEM OF DENMARK. By Norman Fenton. (Published under the Auspices of the Committee on Personnel Training. Department of Corrections, State of California, Sacramento, California. 1954. Pp.130. Price not stated.)

In the summer of 1952 Dr. Fenton, the Deputy Director of Classification and Treatment in the Department of Corrections for the State of California, visited Denmark to study the Danish prison system. This little book, completely printed at the State prison of San Quentin, is an account of his observations. It is a clear and most interesting survey as well as an optimistic one. He foresees in the Danish system many ideas and methods, particularly in the treatment of criminal psychopaths, which will become generally accepted in the world. He describes among other things the judicial system of Denmark, the statistics of the criminal population, the administration and classification of the prisons, some differences between the Danish and American systems, and the concept and treatment of the psychopath and sexual psychopath. In his concluding chapter Dr. Fenton summarizes his impressions which he considers to be of especial interest to American penologists. He includes in this list the following points: the co-ordination under the Ministry of Justice of the judicial law enforcement and adult correctional agencies, the pre-sentence clinical study by local jail and court authorities, the Danish programme for the treatment of alcoholics (antabuse was first discovered by Jacobsen, a Danish scientist), the use of experiences in the community as pre-parole preparation within the Danish prison, and above all the implications of the Herstedvester system for the treatment of the psychopath to which Dr. Stürup has contributed so much.

It is dangerously easy to advocate the wholesale transfer of methods used in one country to other countries without proper reference to differences of culture or administration. The author does not make this mistake. But he sees in much of the Danish system methods which represent a great improvement on the contemporary American system. Of particular interest to English criminologists, for example, is the employment of psychiatrists at the request of the court and not by the prosecution or defence. The value of the small institution, of well-trained custodial staff, and of a low staff-prisoner ratio is also stressed.

One chapter is devoted to the treatment of the sex psychopath. He avoids any discussion of the ethics of castration, and examines the Danish procedure on the evidence provided. The impression one gets from reading his very fair account is the gap between the statistical material and the evidence given in individual examples. Statistically the follow-up study of the castrated ex-prisoner is a story of success. Yet a reading of some of the case-material—admittedly very limited—nevertheless raised considerable doubt in the mind of the reviewer. Some detailed research is clearly required.

This study is a most useful addition to the literature of penology.

JOHN SPENCER.

THE APPRAISAL OF INTELLIGENCE. By A. W. Heim. (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1954. Pp. 171. 12s. 6d.)

Miss Heim discusses in very critical fashion intelligence testing, methods of devising and validating tests and of interpreting and applying the results. Her book is not intended as a general introduction to psychological testing but assumes

an acquaintance with current practice. Though it is introduced as written for professional workers in the fields of education, mental health, social work and industry it would perhaps have been better to emphasize that, for such people as well as for students, without a very real grounding in test theory they are ' likely to find much of this book confusing and disheartening '.

The main themes are a protest that current developments of more elaborate statistical techniques and greater mathematical exactitude have been at the expense of psychological significance and a plea for a return to a broader, more classical approach. ' We shall appraise more accurately if we concentrate less on measuring precisely.' One can agree with this general position yet find in Miss Heim's presentation of the situation a certain partisan quality, an impatience or occasional failure in objectivity, for example towards the ' psychometrists ' and factor analysts. Her writing is best at the common-sense level. Her comments on Mental Ages and I.Q.s for adults, for example, are long overdue. On more involved theoretical problems like the tangle of heredity and environment or the meaning of ' intelligence ' she tends to lose clarity and logic.

Some of Miss Heim's critical impact would seem to be based on the assumption that most psychologists are stupider or more naive than they really are, but even so this is on the whole a stimulating and forthright little book of real interest to those directly concerned with the assessment of intelligence.

R. L. Morrison.

Lie Detection and Criminal Interrogation. By Fred E. Inbau and John E. Reid. (Published by The Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, Maryland, U.S.A. $5: and Bailliere, Tindall and Cox, London. P. xi + 242. 3rd Edition, revised and enlarged. 38s. 6d.)

This book is a portent. Now in its third edition, it returns, strengthened, to the assault on police officers who don't yet know how to extract confessions from suspects.

To treat the book in its own terms, one must admit that it is technically excellent. The first half of the book is the most thorough treatise on the Lie Detector one has read. The instrument itself is described, and the techniques associated with its use are exhaustively explored and explained. Its value and its limitations in interrogation are both honestly and soberly assessed. But, although its prototype was made fifty years ago, in England, to the design of a Scots doctor, it is now an American gadget, geared to American requirements. The lessons it has to offer us, therefore, tend to be philosophical rather than technical.

Just what these lessons are may be seen from the second part of the book, which is devoted to the human technique of interrogation. Once again, it would be difficult to find any other book which so completely covers every aspect of the art of asking questions to establish guilt. Every possible reflection that could occur to a police officer in his efforts to extract a confession from a suspect is here recited, and the appropriate conclusion drawn.

Nor is the legal side of the subject neglected. There is a very full summary of cases decided in the American courts, and this part is as closely and soundly argued as the rest of the book. Indeed, one would expect as much, in a book one of whose authors is Professor of Law in the Northwestern University, and a former Director of the Chicago Police.

What, then, are the lessons to be learned from this technically excellent book? Surely they are to be found in a consideration of the old balance between ends and means. The end to be aimed at by the police is, surely, the prevention of crime: the conviction of offenders is but one of the means to that end. And even if we concede to human nature in the lower ranks of the police that it may treat the conviction of offenders as an end, confession falls naturally into focus as but one of the means to this minor end. But here we have a masterly book devoted entirely to the treatment of the confession as being virtually an end in itself, with interrogation as a highly developed means to this end. The risk, of course, is that, once we elevate the confession to the dignity of an end, the door is opened to all manner of desperate expedients. The recent history of Europe tells us that. It is useless for the authors to assure us, as they do, that they do not intend to suggest that the police abandon or even lessen their efforts to secure extrinsic evidence of the standard sort—the footprint, the witness, the scientific clue—in favour of an exclusive reliance on the admission of guilt; for that is the very danger that treads close upon the heels of the efficient interrogator. The decided cases quoted have a horrid tale to tell, of solitary confinements, threats to throw suspects to the mob, clandestine removals from county to county to avoid service of *habeas corpus*, and so on—a tale of human principles sacrificed, so to speak, on the altar of that malign deity, the confession.

Police must ask questions, of course. Our law allows it—just as it allows the answers to be used in evidence, under certain safeguards—although, curiously enough, incriminating answers are not generally allowed in countries such as Malaya, where that English invention, the Indian Penal Code, operates. But to elevate a necessary basic function of this sort to the status of an exact science is to play with fire. It may be efficient: but is it effective? The methods used to suppress crime should never be worse than the crime itself. But that is just what may happen if the aim of the police drops from the prevention of crime to the conviction of the guilty, and from the conviction of the guilty down to the admission of guilt.

CHRISTOPHER WILLIAMS.

YOUTH WORK IN ENGLAND. By P. H. Kuenstler, M.A. (University of London Press. 1954. P. 126. 4s.)

Mr. Kuenstler's book provides a most valuable compendium of factual knowledge about the Youth Service of this country in a highly condensed and very readable form. He begins his survey with the now historic Board of Education Circular 1486, and reviews all legislation and publications dealing with youth work and young people's welfare between the years 1933 and 1951. In so doing he has inked in a not unimportant sector of the general field of English social history. In his pages we see the Service of Youth in its proper perspective against the broad sweep of our unfolding education system, from its voluntary beginnings to its present secure interlocking with departments of local and national government. Every relevant aspect of youth welfare and youth work from the training of leaders to the juvenile employment service, from the provisions for deprived children to the law relating to military service, is faithfully and competently dealt with and he has provided, in addition, a useful account of the history, aims and methods of all our acknowledged youth organizations.

It is a pity that Mr. Kuenstler's book is purely descriptive and factual and that space was not then available for a discussion of the many interesting and vital problems facing youth work to-day. For, as I see it, Youth Service has reached a state of crisis. The limelight of the war years has dimmed and grant aid is a declining force. There are signs that the recession has already commenced in the growth of financial difficulties on the one hand, and a dearth of leaders and helpers on the other. It is a situation that calls for action on a national scale and at the highest level, and I cannot help feeling that little or nothing will, in fact, be done unless some fresh crisis like the approach of war turns the searchlight once again on to the needs and claims of the rising generation.

JOHN B. MAYS.

THE TRAFFIC IN NARCOTICS. By J. J. Anslinger and W. F. Tompkins. (New York. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 1954. Pp. 354. 35s.)

Any book on narcotics written by Mr. Anslinger must be treated with respect. There is no doubt that an enormous amount of research and hard work has been put into this survey.

Conditions in the United States as revealed here come as rather a shock to the ordinary Englishman. Summaries of cases recorded in the files of the United States Bureau of Narcotics are used to illustrate the homicidal tendencies and the generally debasing effects arising from the use of marihuana. This shows that the problem of drug addiction is far more acute in the United States than in the United Kingdom. All the crimes referred to are of a most sensational nature and it is safe to say that similar cases are almost, if not entirely, unknown in this country. If one particular sentence (p. 170)—' Most policemen recognize that one of the best ways to break up waves of pocket-picking, petty thievery and burglary in a community is by making a round-up of the narcotic addicts '—can be taken as depicting a true picture of the problem faced by police officers in the United States, then the vast difference between the state of affairs in the two countries is apparent.

There are one or two attacks on English complacency about the drug position in this country. On page 279 we read: ' Suddenly hashish addiction hit the young people and now the British Press is filled with accounts of cases of addictions of young people.' This statement is, of course, quite untrue. However, it is equally apparent that some of the problems arising from the use of, and traffic in, drugs are common to both countries, as are some deceptions practised by addicts to obtain illegal supplies of drugs, in particular the use of forged or altered prescriptions and the simulation of illness necessitating treatment by a drug. Some of the latter are more elaborate in the U.S.A. than in Britain. The reason for this may, it is suggested, be found by reference to pages 185 *et seq.*, where is discussed the most appropriate method of treating drug addiction. There it is stated in no uncertain terms that the practice of allowing a known drug addict to obtain a lawful supply of a drug merely to maintain his customary use of that drug constitutes distribution for an abusive use, even if taken over by practitioners.

This book is, without doubt, a masterly survey of a shocking world problem.

R. M. H.

A Comparative Pathology of the Neuroses. By Ludwig Eidelberg, M.D. (New York: International Universities Press. 1954. Pp. 263. $4.50.)

Having presented a simplified outline of Freudian theory, the author embarks on an equally simplified comparative study of neuroses, psychoses, perversions and character abnormalities. Amongst the latter he includes psychopathy and drug addiction to which he devotes fleeting attention. A sound enough book in its way but of no special interest to the delinquency worker.

E. G.

Psychoanalytic Psychiatry and Psychology. Edited by Robert P. Knight, M.D. (New York: International Universities Press. 1954. Pp. 391. $6.)

This is a series of clinical and theoretical papers deriving from the Austen Riggs Centre and written by a number of psycho-analysts well known inside and outside of the United States. Although essentially a book for advanced students of psycho-analysis, the chapters on psycho-therapy, on projective and other 'test' techniques and on the Kinsey Report could be read with interest and profit by workers in delinquency and by normal psychologists.

E. G.

The Annual Survey of Psycho-analysis. Vol. II. 1951. Edited by John Frosch, M.D. (New York: International Universities Press. 1954. Pp. 724. $10.)

The second volume of this compendious survey deals with almost three hundred articles, monographs and books (published in 1951) on various aspects of psycho-analytical theory and practice. These are carefully abstracted and classified and, together with the various critiques, provide the psycho-analytical student with an indispensable library book. Although the editing is even more efficient than in the first volume, the survey still suffers from the defect that no indication is given of the status or experience of the various writers or of the particular school of psycho-analytical opinion to which any given writer may belong. Also the critiques are much too scanty and non-committal.

On the other hand we welcome the appearance in this issue of a separate section on criminology; and elsewhere in the book there are a few scattered references to the subject. The authors of these include Devereux, Lebovici, Bromberg, Karpman, Anna Freud, Balint, Gerard, Josselyn and Lagache. The quality of these contributions is extremely mixed. They can be divided roughly into three groups. The first and leanest includes observations such as that of Anna Freud and Sophie Dann, that no delinquent reactions were found in a carefully studied group of German Jewish children orphaned from birth, *i.e.*, coming from what would now be called 'completely broken homes'. Here at any rate is an isolated observation of some significance. The second group includes papers from authors who have evidently little direct experience of delinquency but are full of the most complicated ideas as to unconscious factors in criminogenesis. The third group includes writings which give evidence of clinical experience but do not condescend to pathogenic particulars. On the whole not a very impressive section; but no doubt with increasing clinical experience in delinquency psycho-analysts will be able to contribute much to the understanding of individual cases.

Apart from these special references to delinquency, the chapter on mental

development is well worth reading by delinquency workers. That on the social sciences ought to be worth reading but is not. Psycho-analysts must emerge from their ivory tower and work in the field if they are to make any practical contribution to social science. In the meantime they would do well not to be quite so pontifical on these matters.

E. G.

COLLECTED PAPERS OF OTTO FENICHEL. Edited by Hanna Fenichel and David Rapaport. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1954. Pp. 408. 35s. net.)

Fenichel was from first to last the classical exponent of classical psycho-analysis, particularly in its theoretical aspects. His clinical range was also wide, but to judge from this collection of papers did not bear very directly on problems of delinquency. Nevertheless, the delinquency worker will find five papers germane to his subject, viz. on the need for punishment, on infantile sexual theories, on transvestitism, on the pre-œdipus phase in girls and on the instincts of curiosity. A library book, worth reading even if a shade technical for the social worker.

E. G.

ABSTRACTS AND REFERENCES

(Under the direction of W. R. Bett, with the co-operation of Augusta Bonnard, J. E. Hall Williams, J. P. Martin, T. P. M. Morris, and John C. Spencer)

CRIMINOLOGY

CHARLES E. SMITH: 'The Homosexual Federal Offender'. *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **44**, 582–591.

The author has been in charge of the psychiatric service at the Medical Centre for Federal Prisoners, Springfield, Missouri, and his article is a study of cases held there. They comprise a rather heterogeneous group of personality types exhibiting all kinds of psychopathology. Of 100 cases studied about 35 per cent. were considered to be effeminate in appearance and mannerism. Their offences range from car theft to homicide. Fifteen were committed for specific sex offences. Crimes which predominate among the homosexual group are those frequently committed on an impulse. Fifty-four per cent. in the series were either known or strongly suspected to be homosexual at their appearance in court for trial. Their segregation and close supervision at Springfield is carried out in a special unit. Their treatment, however, remains unsatisfactory and there is urgent need for further research.

J. C. S.

ROBERT C. HENDRICKSON: 'Why Are We Losing the Fight?' *Focus*, 1954, **33**, 141–46.

The Chairman of the Senate Sub-Committee on Juvenile Delinquency describes the work of his committee and the way in which his thinking about the subject has developed. The Senator comments on the cleavages between the approaches

of the various specialists concerned, and on the need for the right sort of public education.

J. P. M.

JAMES J. BRENNAN: 'Police and Delinquent Youth'. *The International Child Welfare Review*. 1954, Vol. VIII, No. 2, 57–63.

This work began in New York in 1914 and was crystallized in 1930 into the establishment of a Crime Prevention Bureau, a Juvenile Aid Bureau and the Police Athletic League. The author's recent survey ('The Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency by Police Departments,' N.Y., 1952) has shown there to be three aspects of the Police programme: (*a*) to meet the increase in delinquency; (*b*) to seek more effective means of dealing with it other than arrest, criminal proceedings, etc.; and (*c*) to overcome the lack of community resources to meet the problem.

Adults contributing to juvenile delinquency may be arrested, and a close watch can be kept on Pool Rooms, dance halls and other places where undesirables congregate, closing them down if necessary. The Police have always been slow to use the full legal machinery of arrest and prosecution with juveniles, and children in obvious need of help can be referred to the relevant social agencies.

If trained to appreciate the causative factors in delinquency, the Police can, by intelligent handling of the situation, achieve the same final results as court of law, at the same time avoiding the traumatic effects of arrest upon the child. The Juvenile Aid Bureau now handles about 18,000 cases annually, and finds it necessary to resort to full criminal proceedings in only 200 or so cases. The Police Athletic League has sought to solve the problem of misused leisure in city streets, and to build up a better relationship between young people and the Police.

T. P. M. M.

RAY W. WILLIAMS *et al*: 'A Boy Named Joe'. *Focus*, 1954, **33**, 105–14.

Case study of an eight-year-old neglected boy sent to a Juvenile Home, describing procedure from first discussion of possibility of bringing child before the juvenile court to the stage six months later when about to be placed with foster parents.

J. P. M.

MARGARET S. WILSON: 'Pioneers in Criminology. I—Gabriel Tarde (1843–1904).' *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **45**, 3–11.

This article is the first in a new series on Pioneers in Criminology in this journal. In his examination of the current theories of crime causation Tarde rejected the biological and physical ones. His emphasis was on social environment, on the conception of the criminal as a professional type, and on the laws of imitation of which he formulated three. His explanation of crime was simply the application of general laws governing social relations to the phenomenon of crime. He attacked the Lombrosian theory of a criminal type. He considered two factors, individual identity and social similarity, to be essential in determining the responsibility of the criminal, which he argued should be decided by a committee of doctors and psychologists set up by the courts.

J. C. S.

'The Vienna Institute of Criminology'. *International Criminal Police Review*, English edition 1954, **9**, 245–46. (Five figures.)

The Vienna Institute of Criminology, founded in 1923, is part of the university faculty of law. Its functions are: to teach criminal law and criminology to law students; to undertake research work in these fields; to perform official examinations in crime investigation. The lectures include the psychology of criminals.

W. R. B.

PENOLOGY

DAVID REIFEN: 'Interviewing Techniques in a Juvenile Court'. *The British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work*, 1954, **9**, 18–23.

The Juvenile Court magistrate in Israel suggests that traditional court procedures whether under Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian methods have reached a blind alley. In Israel the court is conducted by a magistrate with training in case-work and in law, and use is made of the professional knowledge from these two disciplines. Case histories are used to show the relevance of the tension created by the court situation to the therapeutic process. The degree of permissiveness to be used by the judge depends on the individual situation. Yet proper handling by him must be integrated with the work of other professions.

J. C. S.

SIR WALTER MOBERLY: 'Capital Punishment'. *Howard Journal*, 1954, **9**, 12–17.

The author concludes (1) the incomparable deterrent efficacy claimed for capital punishment is not made out: (2) in any case that alone would be insufficient ground for imposing it: (3) in a society such as ours, an estimate of moral profit and loss, such as led to the abandonment of public executions, to-day dictates the total abolition of capital punishment.

J. C. S.

'Professional, Social Work and the Rehabilitation of Prisoners'. *Howard Journal*, 1954, **9**, 36–51.

There are three articles under this general heading. In the first, Mr. Klare describes the structure of the prison community and the two divisions, of staff and prisoners. He emphasizes the need for social workers who are skilled in the technique of case-work. These workers might include the running of group discussions with prisoners and also with staff among their duties. In the second Miss Tilley describes the social worker's approach to the individual prisoner. She considers it strange that professional social work has so far played so little part in prison development. Certain cases are quoted where the sentence by itself could not have touched the basic problem. The third article, by Mr. Morton, is devoted to the social worker and after-care. He discusses the work of the probation officer with the prisoner, dividing the work into three stages: pre-release, reception case-work and long-term case-work.

J. C. S.

BASIL HENRIQUES: 'What a Juvenile Court requires from a Probation Officer's Report'. *The Magistrate*, 1954, **10**, 189–90.

The author emphasizes that the magistrate in a busy court may have to deal with twenty or thirty cases at each sitting, and, if there is a remand, may have sixty to eighty cases to keep in mind. He gives ten headings of information needed.

J. S. C.

'Fifty Years On.' *Approved Schools Gazette*, 1954, **48**, 204–9.

An account of the National Nautical School in the Approved School System, together with an account of the Bristol Training Ship 'Formidable', which preceded it at Portishead, from 1869 onwards.

T. P. M. M.

JEAN GRAHAM HALL: 'A Visit to Detention Centres'. *Criminal Law Review*, October 1954, 755–59.

This is a brief account of the work of the two detention centres which have been set up so far under the provisions of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948.

J. E. H. W.

PSYCHIATRY

J. F. LOVELL BARNES: 'Marriage, Paranoia and Paranoid States'. *Medical Press* 1954, **232**, 375–78 (five case-reports; conclusions).

Cases are reported of paranoia 'where the ideas of persecution are completely systematized and where the delusions are accompanied by ideas of reference'. All these persons were suffering from a form of insanity, although they were not certifiable. Other cases are reported with a paranoid personality. Classification is often difficult. If something is not done, there may be a tragedy. 'It does seem a pity that the medical and legal professions cannot, between them, devise some method of dealing with these cases.'

W. R. B.

DONALD R. CRESSEY: 'Contradictory Theories in Correctional Group Therapy Programs'. *Federal Probation*, 1954, **18**, 20–26.

Much group therapy as practised by psychiatrists is really individual treatment in a group setting. 'Guided group interaction' is a better term for the use of group relations in a correctional institution and its aim should be to work to transfer the inmate's allegiance from criminal to law-abiding groups. Particular problems of applying the method in a correctional institution are that the groups are very rarely 'natural' ones, and that there is an acute contrast between the therapy sessions and the routine of the institution.

J. P. M.

PETER SCOTT: 'The Criminal Justice Act of 1948 and the Psychiatrist'. *Howard Journal*, 1954, **9**, 20–29.

This article describes the experience gained in a clinic at the Maudsley Hospital, London, which was developed to provide a service for the investigation of Court cases and for the treatment of offenders with mental abnormality. It relates these experiences to the wider sociological problems with which the courts are concerned. The use made by courts of this clinic varies enormously. In his conclusions Dr. Scott points out that because of the imperfections of treatment more attention should be paid to the assessment of the dangerousness of offenders. He divides the offenders referred to the clinic by certain courts into five groups.

J. C. S.

PSYCHOLOGY

RUSSELL N. CASSEL: 'The relationship of certain factors to the level of aspiration and social distance for forty-four Air Force Prisoners'. *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **44**, 604–610.

This study is concerned with a psychological analysis of the relationship of certain factors in the individual's life to the Level of Aspiration 'D'-score and the Social Distance Index for forty-four Air Force prisoners selected from an Air Force base stockade. An inspection of the scores suggests that the personality of the Air Force prisoner is more nearly like that of the typical high school senior than of delinquent boys in civilian institutions.

J. C. S.

GEORGE ENGEL: 'The Concept of Delinquency'. *Approved Schools Gazette*, 1954, **48**, 163–165.

The concept of 'delinquency' is a convenient generalization, which masks the existence of qualitative differences within the category of 'delinquents'. Beside the 'technical' concept of delinquency, there is also the idea of 'dispositional' delinquency, a description of character. That the latter should precede the former is an idea now being replaced by a new set of concepts, anti-social conduct, of which delinquency is but a part, and 'maladjustment', an all-embracing term for emotional disturbance, neurosis, etc. The notion of 'dispositional' delinquency has no place in this scheme, and 'technical' delinquency has no value, in so far as a legal label shows no light on the actual problems of the child involved.

T. P. M. M.

SOCIOLOGY

J. W. PARR: 'The Fundamental Problem'. *Approved Schools Gazette*, October 1954, **48**, 225–26.

A discussion around the sanctions imposed by society on human conduct, and the moral code in terms of a system of rewards and punishments.

T. P. M. M.

ELIZABETH E. IRVINE: 'Research into Problem Families.' *The British Journal of Psychiatric Social Work*, 1954, **9**, 24–33.

Mrs. Irvine examines some of the theoretical questions arising from Dr. Blacker's five enquiries into Problem Families. She asks whether Local Authorities (with the staffs at their disposal) are capable of making any serious contribution either to social biology or social psychology. Blacker seems to assume that biological research can be based on the assessment of intelligence or psychiatric condition by non-specialists. It is the assumption that problem families suffer from a unitary pathological condition which makes so much research unfruitful. There is a need for action-research combining investigation with therapy, and for the use of case-workers with sufficient psychiatric training to be alert to the problems of differential diagnosis involved. A more precise examination of 'emotional infantilism', to use Edelston's phrase, is, for example, required. Retrospective studies may have to be supplemented by longitudinal studies.

J. C. S.

W. RUSHFORTH: 'Antecedents of Delinquency'. *Medical Press* 1954, **232**, 402–5. (Six references.)

The juvenile delinquent occupies a middle place between the difficult child and the psychopath or criminal. The delinquent may be described as a member of society who has failed to make relationship with his fellows. Inadequate housing has always been a serious cause of delinquency, operating in different ways. Prevention of delinquency must lie in hope of developing better parenthood. Parents are young and immature, and need help from society. Town and country planning must be in the hands of men and women of vision and good-heartedness.

W. R. B.

RALPH W. WHELAN: 'Tackling Delinquency in New York City'. *Focus*, 1954, **33**, 155–60.

Principal interest of this article lies in the description of the New York City Youth Board's use of 'aggressive casework' in dealing with families who have not themselves sought help from a case work agency. A similar 'reaching out' technique has been developed for working with gangs. Furthermore this active programme is linked with a number of research projects including a validation study using the Gluecks' delinquency prediction tables.

J. P. M.

C. PHILIP TORRANCE: 'The Clergy and the Offender'. *Focus*, 1954, **33**, 161–64.

A concise summary of a Pastor's views on what a clergyman can and cannot hope to do when his work brings him into contact with delinquents, their families and their victims.

J. P. M.

DONALD R. CRESSEY: 'The Differential Association Theory and Compulsive Crimes'. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science*, 1954, **45**, 29–40.

This article is the second in a series of studies which the Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of California is making into the differential association theory. The first appeared in the journal for May/June 1952. The aim here is to determine in a preliminary way whether so-called 'compulsion crimes' such as kleptomania or pyromania must be regarded as exceptions to Sutherland's theory of differential association. Compulsive crime concepts appear to be no less 'wastebasket categories' than is psychopathic personality. The literature on rôle theory provides sociologists with a framework not only for understanding the behaviour of so-called compulsive criminals, but also for understanding their inability to account for their behaviour. That the differential association theory describes the processes by which one becomes a compulsive as well as a non-compulsive criminal is Cressey's main conclusion.

J. C. S.

LAW

EDOUARD BUSTIN: 'The System of Proportional Payment of Fines'. *Revue de Droit Penal et de Criminologie*, 1954, **1**, 39–71.

The French term used to define this system, largely taken over from Finland, and applied in Scandinavia, is that of 'jours-amendes'. Its deceptively simple wording defies translation. Its meaning is that, when a judge imposes a fine for an offence such as drunkenness, it should be computed in terms of working days. Variability of earnings is equitably reflected on this proportionate basis. However, allowances are made within this automatic scale, and these differ between the countries of Scandinavia, according to items such as the number of dependants, basic expenses, etc. Comparisons are made between the variations of application of this complex self-regulating tariff of proportional fining and of the contrasts provided in the judicial practices of other countries.

A. B.

J. E. HALL WILLIAMS: 'Jury Discretion in Murder Trials'. *Modern Law Review*, 1954, **17**, 315–28.

This is an attempt to examine some of the problems raised by the controversial proposal made by the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment to give the jury discretion in capital cases to determine whether there are extenuating circumstances. It is argued that it would be wrong to dismiss this recommendation out of hand, and that it deserves the most careful consideration.

J. E. H. W.

E. N. M. O'SULLIVAN: 'Criminal Responsibility and the McNaughten Rules'. *Journal of the Irish Medical Association* (October) 1954, **36**, 296–303. (Four references.)

GLANVILLE L. WILLIAMS: 'The Criminal Responsibility of Children'. *Criminal Law Review*, July 1954, 493–500.

Professor Glanville Williams examines the 'knowledge of wrong' test applicable to determine the criminal responsibility of children between the ages of eight and fourteen years. He expresses the view that this test no longer makes sense and is out of place at a time when few children are actually punished for wrongdoing as distinct from being subjected to reformative treatment. He suggests that the test is not binding on the juvenile courts, and that instead 'it would be a practicable rule, and one consistent with the policy of the new legislation, to say that juvenile court magistrates may find a child's guilt although he is not shown to have known his conduct to be wrong, if the sole purpose is to impose reformative treatment'. The writer also makes certain interesting suggestions for the reform of the law relating to 'care or protection' orders.

J. E. H. W.

SIR PATRICK DEVLIN: 'Criminal Responsibility and Punishment: Functions of Judge and Jury'. *Criminal Law Review*, September 1954, 661–86.

This is the print of a Special University Lecture in Laws delivered at University College, London, on March 4, 1954. It consists of a survey by one of the foremost judges of our time of the rôle of judge and jury in fixing responsibility and determining punishment in criminal proceedings. The lecture includes some interesting observations concerning the M'Naghten Rules.

J. E. H. W.

T. E. JAMES: 'Punishment and Treatment Since 1948'. *Criminal Law Review*, September 1954, 687–94.

This is the first of several articles designed to trace the influence of the Court of Criminal Appeal on the interpretation of the penological legislation which has been passed in recent years, viz., the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, and the Prison Act, 1952. In this article certain aspects of the fine and probation orders are discussed.

J. E. H. W.

FRED. W. WOODSON: 'Newspaper Publication of Names of Juvenile Offenders', *Focus*, 1954, **33**, 146–55.

This is a full discussion of the problem of whether or not to permit the publication of names of juvenile offenders. Examples are given of attitudes to this dilemma and of the sorts of repercussions that may develop according to the policy adopted. Of particular interest are the comments on the strength of the campaign for publicity based on the principle 'the freedom of the Press' as guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. Though the material primarily relates to American conditions in middle-Western towns the points of view are stimulatingly presented and the discussion has general relevance.

J. P. M.

EDUCATION

LORD JUSTICE BIRKETT: ' Approved School Children '. *The Magistrate*, 1954, **10**, 173–74.

This is a report of an address to the Conference of Managers, Headmasters, Headmistresses and Matrons of Approved Schools with the Home Office, 1954. The speaker reviewed four main aspects of the work of dealing with these children: the juvenile court, the classifying schools, the training schools, and after care.

J. C. S.

D. E. FAULKNER: ' Isheri Approved School, Lagos Colony, Nigeria '. *Approved Schools Gazette*, **48**, 211–13.

An account of an Approved School outside Lagos from its foundation in 1944.

T. P. M. M.

WALTER RAEBURN: ' Premature Seniority '. *Approved Schools Gazette*, October 1954, **48**, 223–25.

A discussion of the problem of the boy who reaches puberty in a Junior School, just prior to his leaving, and who, by having outgrown the system, is creating problems within it. A suggestion is made for a special type of institution for his accommodation.

T. P. M. M.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

C. WESLEY TOPPING, M.A., Ph.D., is Professor of Sociology at United College (University of Manitoba), and was for many years Professor of Sociology at the University of British Columbia. He was, for a short time, Governor of Frontenac County Gaol, Kingston, and has been a member of two British Columbia Prison Commissions. He is author of ' Canadian Penal Institutions ' (Ryerson, 1929; U.S. Edition, U. of Chicago Press, 1930; Revised Edition, Ryerson, 1943), and of the chapter on ' Crime ' in ' Society Under Analysis ', ed. Elmer Pendell (Catell, 1942).

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T. GRYGIER, LL.M., B.Sc., Ph.D., is in charge of the Department of Clinical Psychology and Research at Banstead Hospital, Sutton. Formerly Research Fellow of the I.S.T.D. and Rockefeller Foundation Fellow at the Universities of Chicago, California and Harvard. Author of ' Oppression: A Study in Social and Criminal Psychology ', 1954.

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